INSTITUTIONS AND VESSELS IN EAST ASIA:

EXPLORING A NEW APPROACH FOR THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN WARES, APPLIED TO THE ORIGIN OF EARLY MING IMPERIAL UNDERGLAZE BLUE CERAMICS, AND THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO KOREA

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VOLUME I

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUESTMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
APRIL 2002

ABSTRACT

This dissertation challenges the traditional understanding of the origin of certain East Asian vessels. Instead of focusing on a *stylistic analysis,* it pursues a cross-boundary exploration of the *institutions* created by state religion and philosophy; the contemporary religions of the courts and high society; law; politics; and economic realities, in more than one country. This study attempts to provide a new way of understanding certain types of the decorative art, as well as the societies in which they arose.

The scale of the production of underglaze blue wares dramatically increased during Yuan, at the Jingdezhen kiln complexes in Jiangxi Province in China. Those vessels produced for use at early Ming imperial court achieved the most refined form. Certain elements commonly found in similar West Asian vessel raise an important issue, however. Prior to the evolution of these wares and their impacts upon vessels in Japan, West Asia, Europe and elsewhere through the development of systematic commercial trade relations, already by the early Ming dynasty, their influences was being felt over wide areas of East Asia, including Korea and Southeast Asia. In Korea, wares for use at the royal court, were being manufactured at the Kwangju kiln complex in Kyonggi Province, from early Choson.

This study explores the systematic factors that lay behind this production, by exploring how ancient Chinese religions, Confucianism and Buddhism, converged and came to require certain wares for use in high society in China, and its neighbouring countries, such as Korea, during the medieval and early modern period. It pursues the question of how this demand was expressed visually in the production of a specific type of vessel - underglaze blue wares - in the early Ming period, and in Korea. This is situated in the complex cultural and economic milieu of the respective societies and periods.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many years more than a decade have passed since I arrived at the School of Oriental and African Studies and Percival David Foundaton of Chinese Art, a world centre for Chinese ceramic research, under the supervision of Professor Roderick Whitfield, encouraged by my late grandfather and professors in Korea. Over such a long period, I have became indebted to a great number of people without whose help, this thesis would never have been completed. Firstly, my utmost gratitude should go to my supervisor during my doctoral course, Professor Roderick Whitfield. I owe gratitude to him for his patient corrections of my script. It was he who suggested that I conduct a statistical analysis, on the results of my work on sherds of porcelain wares excavated from Kwangju kiln complex in the collection of National Museum of Korea in Seoul. Unfortunately, due to space restrictions, that element of the research could not be included in this thesis, but it will be presented independently in a later study. My appreciation must also go to Dr. Youngsook Pak, whose encouragement was valuable. I would also sincerely wish to acknowledge Professor Martina Deuchler who has always shown me an outstanding model as a scholar, for her continuous encouragement and invaluable advice.

Throughout my long-term research and fieldwork, I have also found myself indebted to numerous people for their generosity and kindness. During my field trip to China, I was indebted to a number of scholars who showed me excavated materials and extant examples in the collections of their museums and institutes. They include Professor Qian Weipeng, a Chinese ceramic specialist, Professor Zheng Pusheng at Nanjing National Museum, Professor Liu Xinyuan at Jingdezhen Ceramic and Archaeology Institute in Jiangxi Province, Mr. Huang Yunpeng, Vice Managing Director of Jingdezhen Jiaiang Porcelain Ware Company, Dr. Feng Shifan, Director of Jiangxi Provincial Museum, Professor Zhu Ji and Professor Tang Wei-Jian at Yangzhou Education Centre, Mr. Wu Maolin and Zhao Haixing, Director and Deputy Director of the Bureau of Cultural Relics in Zhuxian City of the Henan

Province, Professor Zhuo Zhenxi at North-West University and Honorary Director of Ancient Chinese Pottery and Porcelain Research Institute of Yao Zhou Ware Museum, and Dr. Du Baoren, research fellow at Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, and Professor Yang Tongbang, Dr. Li Sonju and librarians in Peking University.

During my work in Korea, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Tong-il Lee for his help in translating intriguing sentences in historical texts. I am also grateful to the librarians at National Museum in Seoul and in Kyujanggak for their kind answers. My sincere appreciation must go to Mr. Chung Yangmo, former Director of National Museum of Korea, who allowed me to do research at the museum. There are many other people to whom I owed thanks. They include Dr. Kang U-pang, now, at Ewha Women's University, Mr. Lee Konmu, Chief curator, all the curators of Department of Art, and many of Department of Registration of NMK in Seoul, Mr. Kim Jaeyol, now Deputy Director at the Ho-am Art Museum, and curators of the Museum of Dong'guk University. Beside, I also examined some sherds collected from the Kwangju kiln sites preserved in the Museum of Ewha Womans University. I also express my sincere gratitude to late Mr. So Jaepil who generously showed me his collection of Kwangju white porcelain vessels.

Throughout my fieldwork in Japan, many people extended their help to enable me to examine extant examples and sherds of both Chinese Jingdezhen wares and Korean Kwangju porcelain. They include Mr. Yoshizo Koetsuka, the Curator of Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka, Mr. Itoh Ikutaro, Director of the museum, Miss Suzuki Noriko, Curator of Dewazakura Museum at Sendai, Mr. Ito Yoshiaki, Mr. Atsushi Imai in Tokyo National Museum, Arakawa Masaaki in Idemitsu Art Gallery, curators in Museum of National History in Tokyo and Women's College of Art in Tokyo, and Dr. Komoto Fukuji.

Part of the contents of this dissertation, and the original research, also conducted during my doctoral course, which provided the foundation of my dissertation have been presented in the form of conference papers. I am grateful to the Association for Asian Studies committee for offering me the opportunity to present my research, "Tang blue-and-white wares: uncovering the origin of Tang blue-and-white

wares and their significance in Chinese history" in March 2001. I particularly wish to thank Professor Pamela Crossley, Chinese history specialist of the Darthmouth College, the committee executive of the association and the chair of our panel, for her highest evaluation on my paper. I also express my gratitude to the Oriental Ceramic Society and the Applied Art Museum in Oslo for their invitation in Feb 2001, and Ms. Beth Mckillop, Curator of Chinese and Korean sections, in British Library for recommending my paper, "*Ideas Crossing Borders*: Parallels in Blue-and-white Ware Development in the 15th Century Ming China and Choson Korea" to the society. I, in particular, appreciate Dr. John Guy, a specialist in Southeast Asian art and ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum who showed an extremely encouraging response to my paper. The British Association for Korean Studies Conference 2000 also provided me with an opportunity to present my paper on fifteenth century Choson underglaze blue wares "Early Choson Blue-and-white wares: from *posanghwa* to plum tree" in relation to the politics and religion of the period. The committee of the Society for East Asian Archaeology and the chair of my panel on ceramics, Dr. Andrew Maske, a Japanese ceramic specialist, of the Peabody Essex Museum gave me a chance to present a paper "Yuan and early Ming Blue-and-white wares" with regards to decorative elements of Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue wares at the Second Archaeology Conference held at Durham in July 2000. I also would like to acknowledge Dr. Ho Chuimei, an expert in Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics of the Field Museum who gave me the opportunity to present the paper, "From Ming China to Choson Korea: Blue-and-white wares decorated with *posanghwa* scroll" at the 15th century Ceramic Conference held at The Field Museum, Chicago, in October 1998, and who showed me highly encouraging response to my research methodology. I would also like to record my appreciation to Regina Krahl for her encouraging response when she read through the ten-page script in which I briefly introduced my entire ideas on the institutional use of vessels in Confucianism and Buddhism, and Buddhist ceremonial aspects of early Ming imperial wares compiled in this dissertation. Krahl was the organiser of Jingdezhen Ceramics Seminar held by Sotheby's in September 1995, where I submitted my paper. All the comments and encouragement I have received from the scholars who attended these conferences and seminars were extremely helpful.

My friends and seniors in this field have always shown sincere concern for my research, and their continuous encouragement has inspired me greatly. I would like to sincerely express my thanks to most of my colleagues, postgraduates at Dept. of Art and Archaeology who studied Chinese or Korean art during the time between 1995 to late 1990s. They were always supportive and encouraging. I am grateful to Huangfu Hsueh, an MA art history student at SOAS and his friend, Shih Ching-fei, a Ph.D. ceramic student at the Oxford University for their encouragement. I also thank Alfred Haft, an M. Phil student in Japanese art at SOAS who kindly read the Introduction, Chinese part and Conclusion of my dissertation, and noted some grammatical errors in early 2000, and who was largely stimulated by my research in terms of rites, classics, religions and textiles when he formulated his own research direction. In addition, David Lee patiently read through this dissertation and helped me refining sentences at the final stage of my dissertation. I also wish to express my gratitude to librarians at SOAS, in particular, Ms Fujiko Kobayashi, Ms. Yoshiko Yasumura and Ms. Sue Small. In Korea, Professor Sungmo Ahn in Wonkwang University, Professor Sonbok Lee, Professor Juhyung Rhi in Seoul National University, and Professor Yongsop Pyon at Korea University encouraged me a great deal during my research and writing. There are other seniors and colleagues whom I appreciate but whose names cannot be listed here due to the limit of space.

I also sincerely acknowledge the professors and lecturers at SOAS who agreed to read parts of the final draft of my dissertation. Professor Tim Barrett in the Religion Department generously read part of my original research paper on the ritual vessel system, a section of which is included in Part One of my dissertation, and provided invaluable advice and comments. Dr. Paul Thompson, a philologist, kindly assisted me in translating a very intriguing sentence in a historical document.

My deep appreciation and admiration should go to my professors in Korea who initially introduced me to the field of art history. First of all, I should acknowledge the late Professor Won-yong Kim of Department of Art and Archaeology at Seoul National University who

initially guided me to the area of history of art. He, as an archetype of deep and sincere intellect in archaeology and art history in Korea still vividly remains in my heart with all the lessons and teaching he gave me. Professor Hwi-joon Ahn guided me through the graduate school years with utmost sincerity and has always unfailingly shown me great concern and consideration. His strong scholastic discipline always become an important reservoir of energy and inspiration for all his students myself included. I must acknowledge the continuous and unfailing encouragement from Professor Lena Kim, Professor Songmi Lee Han, Professor Yongna Kim, Professor Hyojai Im, and Professor Mongyong Choi during my doctoral course.

Although I could not list all their names, I should express my deep appreciation to literally all the scholars whose works are referred to in this thesis. My present research could not have been carried out without the foundation of all the previous scholarly works and catalogues.

My final thanks must go to my family; without their faith in me and love this dissertation would simply not have been completed. Unfortunately, owing to poor scholarship conditions in Britain I have never benefited from any scholarships throughout my doctoral course; the financial support from my family has enabled me to carry out my research and writing, without interruption. Deepest appreciation from my heart goes to my parents, Mrs. Haja Kwon and Professor Tae-yong Lee who have continuously been my prime source of enormous energy, faith and limitless intellectual stimulation. Most of all, I appreciate my parents' financial support and their remarkable endurance in the length of time my thesis has taken to be completed. Due to this long length of time which I had to spend, I could not take care of any other aspects of my social and personal life as other people normally do, which totally frustrated many of my parents' expectations towards me. In the process of my writing, I also borrowed a great deal of money from my two sisters. I can never fully express my gratitude for the understanding, support and heart-felt help of my two sisters and my brother, Dr. Meekyung Lee, Professor Sunkyung Lee and Professor Kyungmoo Lee, which I will never forget. Without the deep-rooted scholarly tradition in my entire family, this research could not have been accomplished. I dedicate this, yet, tiny work to my late

grandfather, Dr. Pyong-do Lee, former Chairman of the National Academy of Korea and a world-renowned scholar in the history of Korea who made invaluable contributions to the field of history in East Asia.

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PREFACE

A few preliminary words may be spent to explain what has led me to choose underglaze blue wares as the topic of my dissertation and what has driven me to explore the methodological framework which I constructed in my dissertation.

My principal interest in art history lay in finding how a certain type of art was transmitted from one culture to another, how they were received and recreated in a different cultural atmosphere and structure. The orignal aim of studying abroad during my doctoral course was to study Chinese ceramics. My life-long plan, then, was to eventually research not only Chinese ceramics themselves but also their influence upon Korean vessels. At the beginning of my doctoral course, I centred my research topic on either Tang celadons or Yuan underglaze blue wares. In particular, with sparkling blue colour decoration and their universal production over wide range of areas and cultures in world history, underglaze blue wares have continuously captured my interest since my undergraduate years. However, very disappointingly, at the beginning of my doctoral course, being the late 1980s, communication between China and Britain was not active. As a Korean national, it was even more complicated to visit China. Nor was excavation on kiln sites actively carried out in China. At that time, Ph.D. dissertations in Chinese ceramic studies, extremely rare, requiring entirely original research, were hardly able to be written since without access to excavated materials, genuine scholarship was impossible. Dating attribution was one of the major topics of the time, in which case excavated materials were essential. As a graduate trained in archaeological techniques, I always had a conception that ceramic research should be based upon securely dated materials such as those excavated sherds. In such a situation, I chose an alternative topic which had also been included as one of the important subjects in my long-term research agenda: early Ming underglaze blue wares, and also their introduction into Korea. Related materials, including extant examples with certain date attribution are abundant, for example, in the Percival David Foundation. Furthermore sherds of Choson porcelain vessels excavated from the kiln sites in Kwangju kiln

complexes of the fifteenth century are available in National Museum of Korea.

From January 1988 to 1990, I attended both Chinese and Islamic art courses, and did some basic research on Chinese ceramics. Then, from 1991, I was fortunate to obtain permission to analyse kiln sherds of Kwangju porcelain wares in the Seoul National Museum where I assisted their work from spring 1990. Since this was a very good opportunity, I tried to finish Korean ceramic analysis before the allowed period was completed. Yet, it was still a puzzle to me what answers could be found to questions about Chinese underglaze blue wares. There were major questions without the promise of any clear answers. In the process of my research, I found that not only were the Chinese and Korean underglaze blue wares themselves similar but also that a number of questions raised by those vessels from China and Korea were very similar. As a graduate student, I used to ask myself, "why were Chinese vessels so much alike from one period to the next, and why do vessels from China and Korea present such enormous similarities?" "Was the acceptance of Chinese influence on Korean vessels merely due to an admiration for the advanced techniques involved and the aesthetic appreciation of the objects themselves?" The agonising days during my fieldwork in the dark storage areas of the sherd room repeatedly raised questions to which sherd analyses could not provide the answers. Such a huge amount and high quality of sherds of Korean porcelain vessels are still left to us today and lay in front of me in the sherd room, just as a great number of Chinese porcelain wares exist in museums all over the world. It must be clear that their production was significant even in the state affairs of each country. Why are historical sources so silent about vessel manufacture of such an enormous importance?

These repeated questions helped me to trust my intuition when I came across similar passages from the history of the early Choson dynasty and the Annals of the Ming Dynasty both of which commonly referred to prohibitions of certain types of vessel. I therefore began to raise a question as to whether the two countries had any institutions in common throughout the period. I thus noted that there existed similar legal codes at work in terms of use of vessels. In this process, I came to grasp that there is an area where rites played a central role. It

leads me to realise that there could be a variety of approaches in ceramic studies, apart from those based upon archaeologically excavated materials.

Thus, during my research from late 1992 to 1997 in China, Britain, Japan and Korea, I was able to uncover various facts about Chinese and Korean wares in terms of their institutional uses as well as underglaze blue wares themselves starting from their origin in China during the Tang dynasty, up to the early fifteenth century in both China and Korea.

INTRODUCTION

1. Aim of the study

This dissertation has two dimensions. The first, more fundamental task and a pre-requisite to the second, is to evidence the fact that rites were often one of the principal sources of vessel design for use in the Chinese imperial court and high society during the medieval and early modern periods. Moreover, such rites were one of the most important linkages between vessels for use in Chinese imperial courts, and those in neighbouring countries which shared same state ideology or court religions. Thus, a substantial part of this dissertation is devoted to an exploration of certain rite and vessel systems. The second task is to show how a specific historical background, namely the cultural, socio-economic, political and intellectual setting of an individual period, influenced the birth of certain types of art. This can be seen in imperial underglaze blue wares for use in royal courts during the early Ming 明 (1368-1644) and Choson 朝鮮 (1392-1910) dynasties. This dissertation thus offers an investigation of the origin of early Ming imperial underglaze blue porcelain wares through an analysis of the significance of decorative elements and shapes, and the process by which they were introduced from China into Korea. In particular, it will trace the reason why, and the process through which those early Ming vessels were created in such specific styles, and why they induced the manufacture of similar types of vessels produced in another specific style in Korea. The period under investigation is that from the beginning of the Ming dynasty to the Xuande 宣德 period (1426-35). I suggest, firstly, that during this period, underglaze blue wares were used as vessels of high importance in the imperial court; and, secondly, that this was also the time during which they exercised the greatest influence on the manufacture of similar vessels in Korea.

It is necessary to further explain the term, "medieval" and "early

modern." A variety of opinions with regards to the periodization of Chinese history have been put forward. The method of periodisation most often used by Western and Japanese historians divides Chinese history into ancient, medieval and modern epochs. The Six dynasties period (420-589) is usually taken to mark the transition to medieval, and the Song or the Ming, the transition to modern. In Japan, the Kyoto school regarded the Song as marking the transition to the modern; the Tokyo school focused on the late Ming. The Chinese orthodoxy chose the Ming.[1] In this dissertation, I follow the periodisation used by Western and Japanese scholars, in particular, those of the Kyoto school.

This dissertation focuses part of much larger-scale work conducted during my doctoral course. This broader project argues in support of the existence of, and explores the detailed nature and systems of various types of decorative art. Included here are vessels specified in rites for use in Confucian and Buddhist royal courts and the upper echelons of Chinese society, and the neighbouring countries, such as Korea, during the medieval and early modern periods. It also looks at Chinese underglaze blue vessels from the Tang dynasty, to the early Ming period and their influences upon similar vessels in Korea. This present dissertation, therefore, has the nature of 'pilot research' in the sense that I intend to apply the framework developed during the course of research, to the case of underglaze blue wares for use at the early Ming and Chosŏn royal courts. This is the reason why I have a two-tired structure here: I foucs on the rites for vessels, and the underglaze blue wares from the royal kilns of Ming China and Chosŏn Korea produced against a specific historical background. The present study involves a voluminous survey of Chinese and Korean textual sources. The exploration of ancient Chinese and Confucian-style ritual vessel systems, starting from those of ancient, Tang and Song to early Ming periods, was initially pursued at the library of the Seoul National Museum, the Seoul National University and the Kyujanggak Archives (one of the libraries of the royal court of the Chosŏn dynasty) in Seoul from late 1992 to May 1995. Additional research exploring Buddhist

1) Wilkinson, 1998, p. 7 and footnote 9; Also see Tanigawa Michio, introduced and translated by Joshua Fogel, *Medieval Chinese Society and the Local "Community,"* University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles London 1985.

ritual vessel systems and Chinese underglaze blue wares was carried out at the libraries of the Peking University and School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London from June 1995 to April 1996. Further details of Chinese part on undergalze blue wares and of the introduction of this type of vessel and white porcelain wares to Korea were added during 1997. Since 1998, several pieces of original research connected to the present work have been published and presented. All were focused, however, on the ritual vessel specifications which governed the use of vessels in state and court in both China and Korea, and their relationship with Buddhist ritual vessel systems. While these papers introduce the general framework of rites through which I approach vessels in East Asia, and Chinese and Korea dating from the ninth to early fifteenth centuries, the format of all the articles restricted the extent to which method of research could be discussed. It is precisely the methodological framework as well as detailed facts on ritual principles themselves, however, that is introduced in this present dissertation. My research into underglaze blue vessels also involves the stylistic analysis of important extant examples of both Chinese and Korean underglaze blue wares, along with their sherds. These are collected in numerous institutions, including the Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka, the Tokyo National Museum, the Idemitsu Institute of Art, Tokyo College of Art, the Natural Science Museum and Dewazakura Museum at Sendai in Japan, the Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology, the Jingdezhen Ceramic Museum, Shanghai and Nanjing Museums, the Nanchang Institute of Archaeology and other institutions in China which I visited during 1993 and 1996, as well as the Percival David Foundation, the British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London from 1988 to 1990 and from 1995 to 1997.[2)]

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2) In addition, I undertook both archaeological and scientific analyses of the manufacturing techniques of underglaze blue vessels. From 1990 to 1992, I analysed Korean sherds excavated or collected from official kiln sites located in Kwangju and preserved in the National Museum of Korea in Seoul, the Ho-am Art Museum at Yongin and the Museum of Ewha Womans University. In particular, I conducted an analysis of the glaze structures of a variety of sherds belonging to wares of various shapes and styles from more than twenty kiln sites. I also conducted similar scientific analyses of extant examples of Korean underglaze blue wares at the Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka and Dewazakura Art Museum at Sendai, the Tokyo National Museum and Idemitsu Art Gallery in 1993, and Chinese underglaze blue vessels at the Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology and the Nanchang Institute of Archaeology in 1996. This study eventually provided abundant and detailed information on the chronology of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Kwangju official kiln sites

2. Underglaze blue wares during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties, and related questions

2.1 Underglaze blue wares during the Yuan and ealry Ming dynasties

Underglaze blue wares in East Asia have long served as an important subject for art historians regardless of their regional focus. This is perhaps, because this specific type of object itself was so popular. Having originated in China, their production had spread across East Asia, including China, Southeast Asia and Korea, by the time of the early Ming dynasty.

Underglaze blue porcelain wares are a type of vessel with painted decoration using blue colour pigment under the glaze. Much earlier evidence of the use of cobalt blue can be found in the Near East for the decoration of earthenware from the late tenth or eleventh century; it is certain that this type of pigment was used in the thirteenth century. According to a representative case of scientific approach undertaken by Stuart Young in the Archaeological Research Laboratory, Oxford, underglaze blue wares from the Yuan 元 (1279-1320) dynasty were painted with imported cobalt from the Middle East, while Xuande wares were decorated either using only locally excavated ore, or using a mixture of imported cobalt and native ore.[3] Similar results have also been obtained from recent analyses of early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares.[4]

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which produced white and underglaze blue porcelain wares for use at the royal court. As already noted by Yun Yong-i, the location and relocation of kilns frequently followed the availability of the firewood which provided fuel. Yun, March 1981, pp. 22-44; Yun, September 1981, pp. 46-59. This scientific research, however, provides few direct clues to the earliest manufacture of Korean underglaze blue vessels, and thus lies outside the scope of the present work.

3) *OANS*, vol. II, no. 2 (summer 1956), pp. 43-47.

4) Li Jiazhi, Zhang Zhigang, Deng Zequn and Liu Xinyuan, 1996, p. 60; Wang, 1982, p. 60, table 2, 3, quoted from Zhou Ren, 1958.

It would be in order briefly to introduce the history of underglaze blue wares in China as this could help to understand their development during the early Ming dynasty. Of course, the large scale of production of underglaze blue wares did not suddenly spring up at the imperial workshops during early Ming dynasty. It developed in a continuous line of underglaze blue vessels from the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), which in turn had their beginning during the Tang and Song dynasties. In China, the technique of decorating ceramics with cobalt is thought to have first developed during the Tang 唐 dynasty, (617-906) when it was applied to stoneware. In 1975, in the course of excavations in Yangzhou 揚州, the old Tang city, the first discovery was made of a fragment of a white-glaze pottery head-rest decorated with a lozenge design enclosing florets painted in blue. Feng Xianming and other Chinese scholars considered these materials to be evidence for the claim that the production of underglaze blue wares occurred no later than the Tang dynasty (618-906), and that production remained continuous throughout the following periods.[5] From 1983 to 1984, sherds of dishes and bowls of characteristic Tang manufacture, with elements of underglaze blue decoration, were continuously found within the area of the Tang city.[6] Yet at this stage the amount produced was fairly limited. A few sherds of this type of vessel have also been found in the sites dated to the Song 宋 dynasty (960-1279). Under the foundations of two pagodas in Zhejiang 浙江 Province, built respectively in 977 and 1265, during the Song dynasty, sherds of underglaze blue porcelain wares were recovered. These sherds are assumed to be the products of the same province,[7] and some Chinese scholars believe that such production had already developed into a much larger scale of production than we accept.[8] However, it is generally held that the large-scale and more systematic production of underglaze blue decoration on porcelain vessels developed sometime

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5) Feng, 1980, p. 6.

6 Feng, 1980, p. 6; Zhang, 1991-1992, pp. 37-46.

7) Zhu, 1980; Feng, 1980, p. 7; In Jizhou kiln sites in Jiangxi Province, this type of wares are also found and assumed to have been manufactured during the Song or early Yuan dynasty. Tang, 1980. Samples shows that they were fired at around 1270 C. Krahl, p. 482.

8) Recent discoveries of underglaze blue wares in Inner Mongolia have led some scholars to believe that a number of underglaze blue porcelain vessels hitherto dated from the Yuan dynasty, were actually produced during the Song dynasty, based upon archaeological evidence. Li Yiyuo, 1988; Liu Huan-zhen, 1989.

during the Yuan dynasty at Jingdezhen 景德鎮. Following this production, the Ming dynasty witnessed the most aesthetic and technical peak of this type of vessels. Jingdezhen is located in the Fuliang 浮梁 County in Raozhou 饒州 prefecture in northern Jiangxi 江西 Province. During the early Song dynasty, Jingdezhen was already playing a leading role in ceramic production.[9]

Before preceeding, the definition of porcelain and Chinese terminology for this type of ware should be clarified. Porcelain is made using kaolin and white China stone petuntse, a refined non-plastic felspathic material derived from decayed granite. The base materials became porcelain when fired at temperatures of about 1,280° C upwards. Later Chinese was successful in firing in the region of 1,400° C.[10] When glazing, a felspathic glaze is used, and fired again at a similar temperature to the bake of the body. The body may be fired first to the appropriate temperature to secure fusion, a process giving rise to the term 'biscuit', and it can then be covered with a low temperature glaze and fired a second time. Magaret Medley assumed that porcelain possibly originated in Raozhou prefecture. By the beginning of the eleventh century the kilns of Raozhou, as well as others further south and east in the province of Jiangxi, were already producing an extremely refined porcelain.[11] In Chinese literature, porcelain is generally expressed as *ciqi* 瓷器 or *ciqi* 磁器. Some scholars argue that the Chinese term 瓷 or 磁 *ci* does not distinguish between stoneware and porcelain but refers to all ceramics fired above 1200° C.[12] However, most white porcelain and underglaze blue wares manufactured at Jingdezhen during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties and which are discussed in this dissertation were fired at temperatures of around 1280 C upwards, as Medely pointed out. In addition, in this dissertation, where *ci* in Chinese texts appears to satisfy the above firing condition, it will be translated into porcelain.

Many scholars working in this area have addressed the history of underglaze blue wares. Accordingly, our knowledge concerning the

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9) For further information refer to Tregear, 1984, pp. 20-29.
10) Medley, 1976, p. 14.
11) Medley 1976, p. 164.
12) Krahl, p. 482, footnote no. 10.

history of this type of vessel could only have been possible within the range of previous scholarship. This work was often and inevitably limited by the available materials and information. However, with the advent of new materials over time, it is evident that many aspects of previous scholarship need to be further examined. Here, I only introduce non-controversial information; disputable material will be discussed in the following section.

Since the two large collections of this type of high quality vessel and attributed to the Yuan and early Ming dynasties China are located outside China, in Iran and Turkey, the earliest scholarship in the West was made using those collections. In particular, a seminal study on this type of vessels was conducted by John Alexander Pope. In his studies of those Chinese underglaze blue vessels found in the collections of the Topkapi Sarayi Musesi and the Ardebil Shrine, conducted in 1952 and 1956, respectively, Pope excluded the possibility of the production of Imperial wares during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties. After a preliminary survey of the relevant sections of the *Da Ming Huidian* 大明會典 (Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty) which reveals only the most casual references to porcelain compared to gold and silver vessels, and thus he was very sceptical about the very existence of imperial kilns.[13)]

As will be detailed below, although he found Islamic influences in certain elements of underglaze blue wares, he refuted any possibility that commercial purpose lay behind the seeming influence of Islamic styles and techniques on Chinese vessels. Nevertheless, he believed that while some of this type of vessel were sent to Islamic areas

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13) Pope, 1956, p. 33. There were also a number of scholars who believed that most Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue wares were made for export purpose. They thought this for three reasons. Firstly, the evidence concerning the geographical distribution of such wares to Islamic lands. Secondly, on the basis of certain elements present in this type of vessels; theseinclude the blue colouring which enjoyed wide popularity in the earthenwares of Near and Middle East prior to the development of Yuan underglaze blue wares and ware-shapes resembling certain styles of Islamic metalwork. Finally, most Yuan underglaze blue wares and many similar Ming wares produced at Jingdezhen during the Hongwu and Yongle reigns do not have reign mark inscriptions painted upon them. Therefore, those scholars believe that, prior to the Xuande period, a large proportion of this type of vessel were produced fr the purpose of trade, iin particular, to Islamic countries. For the discussion of imperial wares, refer to Jenyns, 1953, Ming Pottery and Porcelain, pp. 40-114; Medley, 1976, pp. 192-201; Ayers, 1982-3, p. 84; Krahl, 1986, pp. 483-485.

through imperial gifts, most of them probably made the journey as trade goods on a purely commercial basis.[14]

Recently, however, parts of the kiln site at Zhushan 珠山 located at Jingdezhen, corresponding to the period from the Yuan dynasty, and Hongwu 洪武 (1368-98) to the Chenghua 成化 (r. 1465-87) reigns during the Ming period, have been excavated. As a result, between 1989 and 1996, more information and material concerning the manufacture of porcelain wares for imperial use, especially for the Yuan period and the Hongwu, Yongle (r. 1403-24) and Xuande periods during the Ming dynasty.[15]

According to analyses of sherds collected from the site, wares were made for imperial use at Jingdezhen some time during the Yuan dynasty. More than ninety percent of the wares excavated from the Yuan stratum at Zhushan were decorated with two-horned, five-clawed dragons, and the products also include porcelains with overglaze gold decoration. Given that fourteenth century regulations stated that both gilded decoration and two-horned, five-clawed dragon designs were reserved for Emperors, the area is taken to be an imperial kiln site. The excavation results were supported by textual evidence. *Yuan Shi* shows that in the reign of Kubilai (1278) during the Yuan dynasty, a government office was established at Jingdezhen.[16]

According to the excavation report, during the Ming dynasty, imperial kiln sites at Zhushan were operated from the beginning of the dynasty. *Fuliang Xuanzhi* 浮梁縣志 (Gazeteer of the Fuliang County) of the Qianlong period (1736-95) states that at the second year of the Ming dynasty (1369), the imperial factory was established.[17] Liu Xinyuan further explores textual evidence for the existence of imperial kilns from this period: Kangxi gazeteer of this country which states that the production began at the beginning of the Hongwu reign.[18] In

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14) Pope, 1956, p. 19.

15 See Liu, "Yuan Dynasty Official Wares For Jingdezhen". *CAAA*, No. 16 (1993): 33-46; Liu Xinyuan et al.. *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi* (Official Porcelain of Early Ming dynasty Excavated at Jingdezhen). Taipei 1996; He et al. (ed.), *Jingdezhen Chttu Yongle Xuande Guanyaociqi Zhanlan*, 1989.

16) *Yuan Shi*, juan 88, p. 2227; also see Liu, 1996, p. 27

17) *Fuliang Xuanzhi, juan* 7 (seventh year of the Qianglong period), *jianzhi.*

18) *Fuliang Xuanzhi* (1682), *juan* 4, *taozheng;* Liu, 1993, pp. 33.

addition, *Changnan liji* 昌南歷記 (Record of the Changnan History) also includes a record stating that the office was set up at the southern part of Zhushan for the production of ceramics for official use during the Hongwu reign.[19] These records appear to cohere with archaeological analyses of the kiln sites.[20]

Whilst a great number of porcelain vessels were manufactured from the beginning of the dynasty, at the site of Hongwu period, reign marks were rarely painted on wares and this is the case with a substantial proportion of Yongle vessels. The new excavation revealed that many high-quality Yuan and early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares found in the Topkapi Sarayi Musesi and the Ardebil Shrine, are the products of the imperial workshops.[21]

Whereas it is also known that Imperial orders were occasionally imposed upon private kilns, it is understood that a large proportion of vessels for use at the imperial household were manufactured in imperial kilns themselves.[22] Since the excavation of these kiln sites, research has been conducted upon various aspects of the production. However, scholarly views on the origin and nature of these high-quality underglaze blue wares remain divided and uncertain.

Regardless of whether they were products of imperial or private workshops, as widely known, the influence of Yuan and Ming porcelain wares on world trade was enormously important. Porcelain wares were exported to foreign countries, including other parts of Asia, Middle East, Europe and East Africa, by means of either imperial or commercial trade, or both. Exports of ceramics from China already peaked during the Song and early Yuan dynasties. As witnessed by Marco Polo during the mid-1270s, substantial quantities of Chinese raw silk, silk textiles, porcelains, and other goods were exported other parts of Asia, to East Africa, and the Middle East, to the Mediterranean and even to the major markets of northwestern Europe.[23] Raw silk, silk

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18) *Fuliang Xuanzhi* (1682), *juan* 4, *taozheng*.
19) Liu, 1996, p. 26-28; *Fuliang Xianzhi, juan 12*, 1776, *zaji, xia*
20) Liu, 1996, pp. 26-31.
21) Liu, 1993, 33-46; Liu et al., 1996; He et al. (ed.), 1989.
22) *Jingdezhen Taocishigao*, 1959 pp. 108-109.
23) Atwell, 1998, pp. 376-77.

textiles, and porcelains were the most precious and popular items.[24] Porcelains also have been found in Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, India, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and East Africa.[25] These porcelains were manufactured at Jingdezhen and in other provinces, and among them, underglaze blue wares were particularly popular.

In 1461, the Sultan of Egypt presented some Ming underglaze blue wares to Doge Pasquale Malpiero of Venice. European leaders began to collect Chinese porcelain.[26] By the 1530s, however, Ming underglaze blue wares came to be on sale in both the Antwerp and Lisbon markets.[27]

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24) Atwell, 1998, pp. 378-79; Heijdra, pp. 417-575.

25) See Atwell, 1998, pp. 379-80. The following list is provided by Atwell on ceramic trades between China and various areas within Asia, Islam, Africa and Europe except, for a few which I add. On Ming porcelain in Southeast Asia, see John Guy, *Oriental Trade ceramics in Southeast Asia, ninth to sixteenth centuries* (Singapore, 1986); Ed. by Brown, Roxanna M, *Guangdong Ceramics from Butuan and other Philippine sites*, The Oriental Ceramic Society of the Philippines, (1989); on Sri Lanka and India, see Basil Gray, "The Export of Chinese Porcelain to India," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 36 (1964-66), pp. 21-36; John Guy, "The export of Chinese porcelain to India," "*Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 36 (1964-66), pp. 21-36; Carswell, "China and Islam: A survey of the coast of India and Ceylon," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 42 (1977-78), pp. 25-45; and Frank Perlin, "Financial institutions and business practices across the Euro-Asian interface: comparative and structural considerations, 1500-1900." *The European discovery of the world and its economic effects on pre-industrial society, 1500-1800*, ed. Hans Pohl. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990, pp. 257-303; on Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, see George T. Scanlon, "Egypt and China: Trade and imitation." In *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, ed. D.S. Richards (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 90-91, and 95, n. 24; and John Carswell, "Underglaze blue in China, Asia and Islamic world," in *Blue and white: Chinese porcelain and its impact on the Western World*, ed. John Carswell (Chicago, 1985), pp. 30-34; on East Africa, see Nevile Chittick, *Kilwa: An Islamic trading center on the East African coast* (Nairobi, 1974), Vol. I, pp. 240-41, 244; and James S. Kirkman, "The coast of Kenya as a factor in the trade and culture of the Indian Ocean," in *Societes et Compagnies de Commerce en Orient et dan l'Ocean Indien*, ed. Michel Mollat (Paris, 1970), pp. 247-53; on Persian Gulf, see Morira Tampoe, *Maritime Trade between China and the West - An Archaeological Study of the Ceramics from Siraf (Persian Gulf), 8th to 15th centuries* A.D. Oxford, 1989; on China and other part of the world, see John Carswell, *Blue & White - Chinese Porcelain Around the World* (London: British Museum Press, 2000).

26) John Esten, ed., *Blue and white China: Origins/Western influences* (Boston and Toronto, 1987), p. I; see also Atwell, p. 380.

27) D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain* (New York, Toronto, and London, 1974), p. 46. See also Jean Michel Massing, "The quest for the exotic: Albrecht Durer in the Netherlands," in circa 1492: *Art in the age of exploration*, ed. J.A. Levenson (Washington D.C. 1991), pp. 115-19. On the commercial connections between Portugal and Antwerp in the early sixteenth century, see Fernand Braudel, *The perspective of the world*, tr. Sian Reynolds (New York 1983), p. 340.

Representative collections of such underglaze blue wares well preserved up to now include those in Ardebile Shrine which is housed in the Archaeological Museum in Teheran, and one in the Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi in Istanbul as I have earlier mentioned.[28] More than 1,000 pieces of Chinese ceramic wares are preserved in Teheran collection, and most date from no later than 1612. The Topkapu collection also contains over 8,000 pieces of Chinese porcelain wares of the Yuan and Ming dynasties.

As already noted, amongst all those underglaze blue wares, this dissertation focuses on underglaze blue vessels manufactured at imperial kilns and those produced on the order of the imperial court during the early Ming dynasty by the Xuande period. Whilst I would also suggest that some of the arguments that will be made in this dissertation may also be applied to similar types of vessel produced at private kilns during the same time frame, the main focus of analysis of my analysis will be imperial products.

During the early Ming dynasty, commercial trade was banned. Hongwu Emperor issued an edict to forbid overseas trade by private merchants. Yet, it is known that some vessels manufactured at imperial workshops left China as imperial gifts. During the early Ming dynasty, in particular, gifts came to play an important role in the transmission of imperial ceramics to foreign lands. In pursuing foreign relations at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, tradition was stressed. In contrast to the aggressive foreign policy operated by the Mongol Yuan dynasty, normal relations were resumed.[29] In doing this, the Hongwu Emperor used proper rituals. He utilised rituals and rites originated in ancient China for locating the international position of Ming as that of the highest and of central, in East Asia. It was customary to "endow" seals and official dress on foreign monarchs as a sign of legitimising their qualification to rule. This practice originated

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28) See Pope, John Alexander. *Fourteenth-Century underglaze blue.* A Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayi Muzesi, Istanbul, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. II no. 1. Washington, D.C. 1952 (rev. 1970); _____ *Chinese Porcelain from the Ardebil Shrine,* Freer Gallery of Art 1956; Krahl, Regina, in collaboration with Nurdan Erbahar. *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum.* ed. John Ayers. London: Sotheby's Publications 1986; Atwell, 1998, p. 379.

29) Wang Gungwu, p. 304-5.

in ancient China as a way of managing relations between Emperors and feudal lords. The hierarchical relationship between China and its the neighbouring countries does not mean that those countries were simply vassal states. The neighbouring states simply accepted this hierarchical system to satisfy the Chinese court, for the purpose of good diplomatic relations and official trade. The main reason for this was the desire for importing the advanced aspects of Chinese civilisation, and trade. Diplomatic relations were maintained by the regular exchange of envoys. Under the system of tribute, goods were officially traded.[30)]

In 1374, Li Hao 李 浩 was dispatched as an envoy to Ryukyu Islands for delivering gifts from the Emperor. The items included 20 pieces of silk, 1000 pieces of pottery and 10 forged iron axes each for the rulers, and 100 pieces of silk, 50 pieces of silk gauze, 69, 500 pieces of ceramics and 990 iron axes[31)]; Nine months later, Li Hao returned with 40 horses and 5, 000 catties of sulphur (the equivalent of a cattie is about one and one third of a pound, but whether the early Ming cattie was the precise equivalent of this is uncertain.)[32)] Five years later in 1383, other series of expeditions were made to Siam, Cambodia and Champa, 32 pieces of brocade were presented to each of the kings, along with 19,000 pieces of porcelain.[33)] Whilst some of these were privately sold, a major proportion were officially presented.

During the Yongle reign, the famous expeditions south through Indonesia and then west to India, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the east coast of Africa were led by the eunuch admiral Zheng He between 1405 and 1433. Chinese silks and porcelains were transmitted to those areas.[34)]

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30) Refer to *Ming Shi, juan* 56, pp. 614-620.

31) *Ming Taizu Shilu, juan* 95, pp. 1645-46; also refer to translation by Medley, Medley, 1976, p. 93.

32) *Ming Taizu Shilu, juan* 105, pp. 1754-55; also refer to the translation made by Medley, Medley, 1976, p. 193.

33) *Ming Taizu Shilu, juan* 156, pp. 2426-67; also refer to translation by Medley, Medely, 1976, p. 193.

34) Guy introduces these voyages with reference to travel records made during the voyage. Guy, pp. 32-33. For details of these voyages, See, J. J. L. Duyvendak (1938) and Ma Huan, pp. 5-34.

Ma Huan 馬歡, in his *Yingyai Senglan* 瀛涯勝覽 (The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores), written in 1433, after accompanying Zheng He 鄭和 on three voyages, relates the popularity of underglaze blue wares.[35] He records that consignments of musk, silk, porcelain, and other valued Chinese products, were distributed by envoys to the rulers of foreign kingdoms. These and other goods were also vigorously traded, particularly for precious stones and pearls in the lands of the Western Ocean.[36] According to *Xingcha Shenglan* 星槎勝覽 (Successful Journey on a Legendary Raft) written by Fei Xin 費信, who also sailed in the Emperor's 'treasure ship,' Chinese underglaze blue wares were highly valued in the countries of Southeast Asia, India, and Saudi Arabia. Those countries in the Eastern Route included the Philippines, the Sulu Archipelago, and as far east as Timor. On the Western Route, Thailand, Pattani, Malacca, Java, Jambi, Aru, Ace, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Bengal, Calicut and Mecca were all recorded as markets for Chinese underglaze blue vessels.[37]

The overseas trade underwent considerable fluctuation during the fifteenth century. Zheng He's expeditions, which had begun in 1405, when he received his first commission from Yongle, came to an end in 1436, up to which time trade showed a steady increase, but thereafter began to diminish.[38]

Underglaze blue wares were also sent to Korea as imperial gifts. In 1428, the Chinese Emperor presented the Choson King Sejong with underglaze blue porcelain vessels. Following this, in 1429 and from 1430, Chinese underglaze wares were given several times to King Sejong by Chinese Emperors.[39]

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35) Ma Huan, *Yingyai shenglan* (The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores) (1433) translated by J. V. G. Mills, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 97 and 129; Guy, pp. 33-34.

36) Transactions engaged in at Calicut, West India, are described in detail by Ma Huan, p. 141; Guy, 1986, pp. 32-33.

37) Listed by G. Wong in Southeast Asian Ceramic Society (1978), pp. 65-6. Wong, ' A Comment on the Tributary Trade between China and Southeast Asia, and the Place of Porcelain in the Trade, during the Period of the Song dynasty in China.' The Southeast Asian Ceramic Society Transactions, no. 7 (1979); also refer to Guy, pp. 33-34.

38) Medley, 1976, pp. 192-95

39 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 41, p. 138, upper-b; *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 44, p. 179, lower-a; *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 46, p. 203; *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 49, p. 245, lower-b - p. 246, upper-a.

2.2. Questions and previous scholarship on underglaze blue wares of the Yuan and early Ming dynasties

In the long history of the evolution of underglaze blue wares in China, it is clear that designs of wares produced for commercial purposes eventually developed into satisfying the tastes of consumers. In particular, as stated above, from the sixteenth century onwards, a great number of underglaze wares came to be produced at private kilns at Jingdezhen and elsewhere in China for overseas markets. Scholars have pointed out that their decorative designs as well as vessel shapes obviously met these demands, and accordingly reflected the market-trends. However, it is equally important to explore the background against which, and the mechanism through which the production of underglaze blue wares began and developed, prior to such evolution.

2.2.1. Questions

A number of vessel-shapes present in underglaze blue wares, including bowls, dishes and jars produced at imperial kilns from the Hongwu, Yongle and Xuande periods during the early Ming dynasty can be seen among wares from the Tang and Song (960-1279) dynasties. Decorative designs, such as, lotus, peony, combinations of plum trees and bamboo, and combinations of dragons, phoenixes, flowers and clouds, are also traceable to decorative motifs found either on vessels or in paintings from those periods. There were also shapes and decorative designs derived from non-traditional sources. One finds, for instance, tankards, various types of ewer, bottle, and flask, large dishes, and highly stylized lotus floral scrolls, and geometric designs with compactly distributed lay out of decoration which are not found in the Chinese tradition. Many such as large dishes, and most of so-called, Islamic style decorative design inherited similar Yuan tradition with some degree of modifications. Some newly appeared further resemble Islamic metalwork shape as seen in tankards, many types of ewer, bottle and flask. Most has so far been regarded as Islamic influenced

because of blue colour decoration, similar vessel shapes and geometric decorative styles are found in either Islamic ceramics, or metalwork produced between twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Compact distribution of decorative designs were one of the typical features in Islamic art. The distinctiveness of these elements and the suddenness with which they gained popularity during the Yuan dynasty, along with the technical and aesthetic peak they represented during the early Ming dynasty, have made underglaze blue wares among the most puzzling developments in Chinese ceramic history. These non-traditional elements including the use of underglaze blue decoration are the most representative features of early Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels.

The development of underglaze blue wares eventually resulted in the production of similar wares in East Asian countries, such as Southeast Asia, and Korea by the early fifteenth century. In particular, in Korea, this type of wares was manufactured at the Kwangju 廣州 kiln complex, located in Kyonggi 京畿 Province, for use at the royal court from the early Choson dynasty onwards. From the beginning of the Choson dynasty, underglaze blue porcelain vessels appeared as important objects in the royal court, and it was from this time that they began to be produced at official kilns. The manufacture of this type of vessel in Korea, as with similar objects from the Ming dynasty, has given rise to a number of questions. Even in Korea, the emergence of underglaze blue vessels featuring blue colour decorations, with shapes and designs different from the celadons which had previously been favoured, was surprisingly sudden. These newly-developed vessels mainly consisted of cup stands, cups, bottles and large jars. These were decorated with motifs such as stylized lotus scrolls, combinations of dragons and clouds, or of plum trees and bamboo arranged in a new layout and executed in innovative styles. These motifs resemble similar designs executed on Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels.

In exploring early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares and their introduction into Korea, my main questions are as follows:

What is the place of the Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels from

Hongwu to Xuande reigns in Chinese ceramic history?

What are the origins of the blue decoration, and ware-shapes resembling Islamic metalwork that became more distinctive in early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares?

A similar question might also be posed with regard to Korean vessels of this type.

We must ask if the design and production of Korean underglaze blue vessels were, in fact, influenced by similar vessels of Chinese origin. If so, what was the specific process by which the latter affected vessel production in Korea?

Was the principal reason for sharing similar patterns with Chinese Ming imperial underglaze wares in other countries such as Korea and Southeast Asia during the medieval and early modern period, entirely due to their decorative beauty?

2.2.2. Previous study

Even after the new excavations which revealed that many extant examples of high-quality Yuan and early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares were the production of imperial kilns, and although this excavations certainly would be of help in unveiling the nature of imperial porcelain vessels from the first half of the fifteenth century, a substantial part of the scholarship appears not to have been much influenced by those findings. It should be noted that the blue colour, which features similar Islamic ceramics, was universally used in decorating Chinese underglaze blue wares, regardless of their dates and places of production, whether imperial or private kilns.

Many scholars find it puzzling to explain such Islamic elements present in this type of wares. Two different scholarly views exist: one holds that such elements which resemble features in Islamic vessels were

derived from vessels found in West Asia; the other locates their source in the Chinese tradition. However, the arguments of individual scholars on this issue are far from clear cut. Some scholars, while identifying the native Chinese tradition in some features, have nonetheless found in other elements of such features evidence of foreign influences. The claim that trade was the central motive behind the emergence of Islamic features in this type of vessel, has recently been relatively strong. However, there is no unanimity on this issue. We will discuss the most influential views.

Basil Gray was the first to analyse systematically a variety of non-traditional vessel shapes and decorative designs found in early Ming underglaze blue vessels, and concluded that their origin lay in West Asian metalwork. His findings were set out in an article presented to the Oriental Ceramic Society in 1942 entitled, "The influence of Near Eastern metalwork on Chinese ceramics." He did not consider that pieces reflecting Islamic influences were made specifically for export, nor did he believe that any examples should have reached the West, except for those which may have been dispatched as imperial presents. This is because, firstly, none of these types are found among the various Chinese porcelain vessels so often depicted in the Persian miniatures dating from the end of the fourteenth century onwards. Persians appreciated the very Chinese-ness of these vessels and did not wish to see it diluted. Secondly, the shapes of these vessels are found not among the export wares but among wares of Imperial quality.[40] Gray believed that the presence of Islamic elements was due to the desire of the early Ming Emperors to model their reign upon the period of the great empire of the Tang dynasty. In this period, West Asian metalwork shapes were once favoured. An important cause of this may have been that no further progress was possible along the lines of the song potters. Consequently, sophisticated taste of the time turned to the forms of Near Eastern metalwork for new ideas. These had no doubt been available since the Mongol conquests once more opened up communications across Asia. It was therefore easy for the Chinese in

40 Gray, p. 59.

the fourteenth century to have access to examples of most of the principal shapes of the metalwork made in the Near East.[41]

Pope's, *Fourteenth-century Blue and White,* published in 1952, was a seminal study of a group of Chinese Yuan and Ming porcelains in the collection of the Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi in Istanbul,[42] In 1956, he also conducted an analysis of a large number of similar wares in the collection of the Ardebil Shrine in Iran and published the results in *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine.* He found the sudden appearance of this new technique far from easily explained and concluded that it was impossible to say how its introduction took place. He furthermore found it difficult to explain the reason why such Islamic techniques influenced the Chinese. It is because, first of all, the Chinese made better ceramic products, and secondly, even more importantly, although the repertory of design found on fourteenth-century underglaze blue wares involved many elements new to Chinese ceramic decoration, it showed little if any evidence of derivation from Persian or other Near Eastern designs of the period. According to Pope, Islamic motifs never played more than a trifling part in the Chinese scheme, whereas a number of Chinese elements made their appearance on Near East underglaze blue wares as the centuries passed. He argued, however, that cobalt, along with the techniques for using it, might have come from the Near East.[43] Yet, he did not trace the origin of the decorative style of these vessels, but simply expressed a view that, with the perfection of the new technique of using blue pigment and its application with brushes on the surface of a vessel, a totally new cycle of ceramic decoration was created.[44] He, nevertheless, also attempted to track the origins of their ware-shapes to Islamic traditions as well as those of Chinese. Like Gray, Pope found models for a number of non-traditional vessel-shapes in Islamic metalwork.[45] Furthermore, he believed that most of them were sent to Islamic lands through either imperial gifts

41) Gray, pp. 48-49.
42 Pope, 1952, Freer Gallery of Art, Occasional Papers No. 1.
43 Pope, 1956, p. 65.
44 Pope, 1956. p. 87.
45 Pope, 1956, p. 86.

or commercial intercourse.[46] Thus, these early scholars left the question of Islamic influences as something of a puzzle.

In contrast to this rather conservative perspective, the view that trade was the main reason for incorporating Islamic elements into underglaze blue wares was strongly promoted by Magaret Medley. According to her, the introduction of a colouring oxide, called *sulimani,* by Near Eastern merchants, meant that it must have been the cater for the Near Eastern market rather than the Chinese market that changes were made.[47] Medley believed that the enormous output of underglaze blue wares was intended for foreign trade, especially for the lands of Islam. In particular, plates and dishes which have a flattened rim with bracket foliations, often a rather deep well, or cavetto, and a wide unglazed base, follow a Near Eastern metalwok prototype of precisely the kind which would have been found in a wealthy Muslim household in either Guangdong or Quanzhou.[48] The motifs used were purely Chinese, except for the so-called, 'cloud collar' motif, which had its origins in Mongol Central Asia. Many of the earliest pieces, such as foliate rimmed dishes, have a decoration based on a system of concentric rings or of interlocking arcs. Another distinctive lay out resembling Islamic elements consists of the horizontally ordered bands surrounding the vessel. This type of lay out appears in many types of ewer, octagonal faceted type, and occasionally found on simple bottle-shaped vases.[49] Concerning the layout of the decoration, she believed it had departed completely from Chinese inspiration and was largely based upon that of Islamic metalwork,[50] and indicates the need to adopt an unfamiliar approach to the use and treatment of a surface to suit a specific market.[51]

Takatoshi Misugi also expresses similar views in *Chinese Porcelain*

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46) Pope, 1956, p. 86.
47) Medley, 1974, p. 33; Medley, 1976, p. 177.
48) Medley, 1974, p. 33; Medley, 1976, p. 178
49) Medley 1976, pp. 185-186.
50) Medley, 1976, p. 180; Medeley, M., "Chinese Ceramics and Islamic Design," 1972, pp. 1-10.
51) Medley, 1976, p. 186.

Collections in the Near East Topkapi and Ardebil, published in 1981.[52] More recently, Regina Krahl also develop a similar view on the relationship between Islamic elements and underglaze blue wares from the Yuan and early Ming dynasties.[53]

On the other hand, according to Feng Xianming's papers published in the 1980s, the technique of painting underneath the glaze as well as use of blue colouring evolved from the Chinese tradition. Feng states that such practices are found in the Wazhaping 瓦渣坪 kilns at Tongguanzhen 銅官鎮 located in Changsha 長沙 in Hunan 湖南 which were worked during the Tang dynasty. He believes that this technique of decorating under the glaze and the use of blue colour was derived from such ancient practices as those found in the production of earthen beads decorated with underglaze blue discovered in a tomb of the Warring States period (481-221 BC). The technique and idea of decoration as well as underglaze painting as seen in Changsha was inherited in the Northern Song period (960-1126) by the Cizhou 磁州 kiln factories in Hebei 河北, where it was the practice to paint with black slip over the top of the white slip under the glaze. The use of underglaze painting decoration is also seen in some Jiangsu 江蘇 and Zhejiang 浙江 vessels. This style was thereafter adopted by other kilns in Hebei, Henan 河南, Shaanxi 山西, Shandong 山東, Jiangxi 江西, Anhui 安徽, and Guangdong 廣東 provinces during the Song (960-1279) and Jin 金 dynasties (1115-1234).[54] Feng considers the existence of the

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52 Misugi classifies Yuan underglaze blue porcelain into three groups, each having two contrasting categories. Group A(a) consists of mainly symbolic or abstract detailed patterns. The designs, for example, of the dragon, *qilin* or Eight Treasures have a special meaning and are related to contemporary religious philosophy. Group A(b) consists of mainly realistic designs, representational paintings of Mandarin ducks, lotus flowers, bamboo, bananas, morning glories, grapes, etc., the objects being realistically treated and used as patterns with little ornamentation or stylisation. Group B(a) is made up of designs with many bands, each having a separate style. Typical elements in these bands are dragons, peony scolls, chrysanthemum scrolls, breaking waves or Eight Treasures. Group B(b) is made up of a few bands containing such elements as lotus, serpentine waves, lotus scrolls, a diamond-shaped diaper pattern and classic scrolls. Group C(a) has white decorations reserved on a cobalt blue ground; ,an example being a design such as a phoenix, or peony scroll, left in white with the surrounding in blue. Group C(b) has cobalt-blue, free-brush decorations on a white ground, having, for example, a blue fish, or bananas, dragons, etc., as the main design on a white ground. T. Misugi, 1981, pp. 76-87.

53 Krahl 1986, pp. 483-485.

Jizhou 吉州 kiln factories in Jiangxi Province to be a significant factor in the emergence of underglaze blue vessels during the Yuan and Ming periods. Large quantities of pottery decorated with white slip paintings over black slip under the glaze were produced here during the Song and Yuan dynasties, and an underglaze blue sherd was also discovered.[55] On the other hand, Feng considers the influence from the Islamic world to be present in geometric designs such as that executed on the sherd of a ceramic pillow found in the old Tang city of Yangzhou.[56]

Jessica Rawson found certain aspects of Islamic influences for trade. Nonetheless, she also appears to find substantial traces of seeming Islamic influence in the Chinese tradition. In a few passing remarks, she suggests that the ware-shapes and decorative designs of Yuan underglaze blue vessels actually evolved from the Chinese tradition. She asserts that the shapes of Yuan underglaze blue vessels regarded to have been influenced by Islamic metalwork can be explained in terms of traditional Chinese silver vessels and ceramic shapes. In addition, the densely organised decoration on Yuan underglaze blue vessels is thought to have been influenced by Chinese traditional lobed and pointed panels. In a single short sentence, she states that neither the shapes of vessels nor this type of panel decoration can be directly based on Islamic prototypes but rather based on their regular use alongside Buddhist and Daoist symbols.[57] Yet, she does not discuss specific types of ware-shape or decorative designs to back up this point. On the other hand, she considers the use of blue decoration under the glaze and the production of large size of dishes with many bands built into the decorative structure were stimulated by the demands of foreign traders.[58]

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54 Feng, 1982, p. 341.

55 According to Feng, the Jizhou kilns were influenced by the Ding and Cizhou kiln complexes located in the northern part of China. Feng, 1980, p. 6.

56 Feng, 1980, p. 6.

57 Rawson, 1984, p. 135.

58 Rawson, 1984, p. 135.

Excavation reports were made on the sites of the imperial kiln factories of the Yuan and the early Ming period at Zhushan 株山 in 1989 and 1996.[59] In these reports, Liu Xinyuan assigns the origin of ware-shapes and decorative designs of certain types of white and underglaze blue vessels, including flasks, basins, ewers of specific types, and tankards, to similar Islamic metalwork, arguing that this phenomenon means that the vessels must have been produced for export.[60] In his 1993 paper, "Yuan Dynasty official wares from Jingdezhen,"[61] Liu also suggests that the emergence of lotus and other typical Buddhist emblems on certain underglaze blue vessels, such as the double *vajra* deployed on the lid of one of the drum-shaped chess boxes, were the result of the influence of Tibetan Lamaist Buddhism.[62] Chen Ching-kuang also recently relates some sea creatures on Ming imperial porcelain wares from the Xuande period to Tibetan Buddhism.[63]

On the other hand, in an article presented at the Field Museum, Chicago, in October 1998, and subsequently published in *Solving Enigmas*: *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Century Ceramic Conference* (1998) and in *Oriental Art* (1999), I argue for the existence and significance of ritual vessel systems derived from both the ancient Chinese institutions and the Buddhist traditions, in the royal courts of China and Korea.[64] I suggest that a large proportion of early Ming porcelain wares, including underglaze blue wares, were manufactured systematically in accordance with Buddhist ceremonial specifications. Tibetan Buddhism predominated in the Chinese imperial court as well as in the lives of civilians during the period and required numerous and frequent ceremonies, as well as a large quantity of vessels decorated with auspicious Buddhist decorations for seeking protection by magical

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59 He et al. ed. Liu, *Jingdezhen Zhushan chutu Yongle Xuande guanyao ciqi zhanlan*, Urban Council, Hong Kong, 1989; Liu, *Jingdezhen chutu Mingchu Guanyao ciqi*, 1996.

60 Liu, *Jingdezhen Zhushan chutude Mingchuyu Yongle guanyao ciqizhi yanjiu*, 1989.

61 Liu, 1993, pp. 33-45.

62 Liu, 1993, pp. 35-36.

63) Chen Ching-kuang, 1993, pp. 102, 121

64 Heekyung Lee, 1999, pp. 26-27, 30-33.

power of Buddha. Such imperial wares were of course designed for domestic uses. I agree that the scale of production of underglaze blue wares were expanded for trade purposes as claimed by some previous scholars but sought to stress the equal or greater importance in this expansion caused by the demand for vessels intended for the specification in rites in the Yuan and early Ming courts.[65] In July 2000, I presented a paper "Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue wares" with regards to decorative elements of Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue wares at the Second Archaeology Conference held at Durham in Britain. In this paper, I explore the origins of various decorative elements adorned on underglaze blue wares from the Yuan period and some from early Ming dynasty, in various types of Tantric Buddhist art from the Tang, Song, Liao 遼 (916-1125), Jin and Xia 夏 (c. 900-1227) dynasties, and Tibet.[66]

When approaching the derivation of ware-shapes and decorative designs of certain types of vessel, scholarly attention has rarely been paid to the specific context in which they were deployed. Brankston, however, argues that some underglaze blue vessels from the Yongle

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65 Heekyung Lee, 1999, pp. 29-32. Preliminary papers outlining this approach were delivered in October 1998 at the 15th Century Ceramic Conference, held at the Field Museum, Chicago. I am grateful to Dr. Chuimei Ho, the convenor of the conference, and Dr. Bernard Jesse, the discussant of my panel and other audiences, who considered my approach to be constitutive of a new methodology, and very helpful to understand Sino-Southeast Aisan trade relationships and Southeast Asian underglaze blue wares.

66) Heekyung Lee, July, 2000, p. 45; in addition, in a paper given to 2001 Association for Asian Studies held in Chicago in March, I further discuss underglaze and overglaze wares of the Tang dynasty. I conclude that underglaze blue wares were initially designed as Buddhist ceremonial wares. Lee, 2001, pp. 310. In November 2001, at a lecture held by the Oriental Ceramic Society, John Guy claimed that Chinese underglaze blue wares exported to Southeast Asian countries during the Ming dynasty, as discovered in shipwrecks in the South China Sea, and some ceramic wares from the Tang dynasty might have been made as Buddhist ceremonial vessels. However, specific facts about those vessels, and also the methodology to approach Chinese medieval and early modern vessels in relation to institutions in Buddhism were presented by me much earlier through major lectures and publications. For a list of my papers from 1998 onwards, refer to the Introduction, and the Acknowledgements section of this dissertation. Feng already pointed out that underglaze blue wares from the Yuan dynasty originated in similar type of technique and use of blue colour during the Tang and Song dynasties. Many other scholars have had difficulties finding the impetus which brought underglaze blue ceramics once appeared during the Tang and Song dynasties, to their full development from the Yuan period. My paper discusses the reason for this evolution.

period and many from the Xuande period were more than likely intended for ritual use. The decorative motifs he sees as predominantly Buddhist consist mainly of lotus and Buddhist emblems, sometimes accompanied by Buddhist scripts; the shapes of the vessels being different to those used for domestic purposes during other periods. He takes globular cups with and without stems and monk's cap jugs to be representative ritual vessels and assumes that many large bowls and dishes were used for offerings in various forms of ritual at the glorious ceremonies at the Altar of Heaven and in the Palaces.[67] According to the excavation report of the Zhushan kiln sites in 1989, most underglaze blue vessels excavated from the Yongle strata were made for use at banquet tables and for export. However, some monk's cap jugs, a ladle and some stem cups decorated with Sanskrit inscriptions under their glaze were used in Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies. This assumption is made based upon their decoration with Buddhist script, lotus scrolls and Buddhist emblems.[68] In the conference paper of 1998, and the article of 1999, as introduced above, I respectively discuss the use of early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares in the context of existence of ritual vessel systems in both state rites originating in ancient Chinese institutions, and Buddhist rites.

As illustrated above, among those who see West Asian influences, Medley, Misugi, Rawson and Krahl believe that part of such influences was for trade purposes that the Chinese allowed West Asian influences to appear on their underglaze blue ware. However, recent excavations of Zhushan kiln sites shows that a large proportion of these vessels were actually produced at imperial kilns. Even so, those scholars views can be still be said to be valid. If claims by previous scholarship were still to be accepted with regard to imperial wares, questions would remain. Pope cannot see such influences as a consequence of Chinese efforts to sell their vessels to Islamic countries. Gray also points out that Islam seems to have favoured Chinese vessels just as they were, since in Islamic miniatures Chinese underglaze blue vessels of traditional shapes were depicted being used as banquet vessels.

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67 Brankston, 1938, p. 25.
68 Liu, 1989, pp. 21-22, p. 26.

Similarly, difficulties are thrown up by the theory which locates the source of these shapes and decorative patterns in Chinese tradition. Feng's view does not explain the sudden flourishing of underglaze blue vessels from the Yuan dynasty onwards. In addition, although Rawson points out that the ware-shapes of Yuan underglaze blue vessels resembling Islamic metalwork were actually derived from silver vessels of the Tang and Song dynasties, she does not cover many of the representative cases of early imperial Ming underglaze blue vessel shapes produced up to the Xuande period, which are known to exhibit the strongest Islamic influences.

As far as the use of some imperial underglaze blue wares of the Yongle and Xuande periods is concerned, Brankston is the only scholar who has expressed a clear view, identifying them as ceremonial vessels. Nevertheless, his argument also has many weak points. By relating those Buddhist elements which he analyses to state rituals originated in ancient Chinese institutions, he fails to discern the difference between the character of state ceremonies held for Heaven, and *zongmiao*, and that of Buddhist ceremonies. His analysis of Buddhist features depends entirely on decorative designs and he does not put forward any other systematic evidence.[69] Although Liu Xinyuan and Chen Ching-kuang respectively make a contribution to this subject through their analyses of Tibetan Buddhist influences in some of the Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue wares, their discussion does not go beyond an extremely narrow range of ware-shapes or designs.

Turning now to Korean blue-and-white wares, very little research has been conducted into the process by which Chinese underglaze blue vessels were introduced into Korea. It is generally believed that underglaze blue wares for use at the Korean royal court resemble similar vessels from the Hongwu, Yongle and Xuande reigns of the Ming imperial court.[70] In relation to the earliest use of such wares in Korea, the diagrams of blue-and-white wine vessels used in state

69 Brankston, 1938, p. 25.
70 Chung et al., 1992, pp. 410-414.

banquets and decorated with a combination of a dragon and cloud motif found in a state ritual text, *Oryeŭi* 五禮儀 (Five Rite Ceremonies), has frequently been cited as an example by scholars, including Chung.[71] Since a diagram of a ceremonial wine vessel for use in state banquets appears in *Oryeŭi*, it is now generally recognized that Korean blue-and-white vessels were first used as wares for use in state ceremonies originating in ancient Chinese institutions. Apart from state ceremonies, another important recorded use of blue-and-white wine vessels is the wine cups for use at the Queen's residence identified as substitutes for vessels made of gold during the reign of King Sejo 世祖 (1455-68).[72] Although previous scholarship has offered some remarks on usage, scholarly interest in the demand for the manufacture of such wares has, until now, been insufficient to inspire further exploration or initiate any attempt to grasp the actual impetus behind the manufacture of vessels of particular types. In my 1998 paper, I suggest that it is highly likely that the earliest manufacture of blue-and-white wares decorated with *posanghwa* 寶相華 (Chinese: *baoxianghua*, literally, precious visage flower) scrolls occurred in Korea in accordance with Buddhist ceremonial specifications. While the idea of painting *posanghwa* flower scrolls in underglaze blue and some details of the style of execution were derived from similar Ming vessels, the basic design of the flower scroll was inherited from similar designs of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392).[73]

3. Rites and rituals in approaching medieval and early modern vessels

As seen above, up to the present time, research on early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares and similar Choson wares has been conducted under the premise that their designs could be arbitrarily chosen. Thus, inevitably, previous studies have mostly been carried out deductively, by means of stylistic comparison of decorative designs and ware-shapes to other ceramics or other types of art. Although certain influences from religous elements have been pointed out by some scholars, such

71 Chung, 1980, pp. 175-176; Kim, 1995, p. 43.
72 Kim, 1995, p. 91.
73 Lee, 1998, pp. 26-37.

elements have been simply thought as one aspect of designs which reflect influences from many sources. This has also usually been the case with the study of other types of Chinese and Korean vessels from the medieval and early modern period.

As I stated above, through exploring ritual vessel systems, it is possible to show that rites were one of the basic and central factors in the emergence of certain designs of major vessels for use at the imperial court and upper echelons from the medieval and early modern period. Through exploring the case of imperial underglaze blue wares manufactured for use in early Ming China, and early Chosŏn Korea, it is also possible to evidence that specific environmental elements, peculiar to each individual period, came to play a vital role in directing the interpretations of such rites, and physical representations of such designs, towards specific features.

As stated in the Preface, in the process of this long-term research, the question arose as to why, not only the underglaze blue wares themselves, but also a number of vessels from China and Korea were so similar. Why did Chinese vessels from each era inherit so many of the features of the preceding period and why were Korean ceramic wares so much influenced by their Chinese equivalents? Was there a systematic driving force which ensured the acceptance of Chinese influence, contrary to the general recognition that this phenomenon derived from Korean admiration of the aesthetics and techniques of Chinese porcelain? I noted, in documentary sources, from both Ming and Choson dynasties, that there existed similar legal codes at work in terms of use of vessels. For example, prohibitions of specific types of vessel were listed in *Ming Shi* 明史 (Annals of the Ming Dynasty) and *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn* 經國大典 (Kyŏngguk Great Statutes- Great Code of Administration). The particular nature of the problem led me to the belief that answers to questions concerning both Ming and Chosŏn underglaze blue vessels could only be found by adopting a macroscopic approach. This entails an *interdisciplinary* spanning areas such as legal codes and institutions beyond the limited scope of the arts, which I suspected lay behind the development of certain art forms as well as an recognising an analysis of the ceramic history of those two countries over a wider period of time, rather than

have been the case in a microscopic approach. My approach eventually led me to uncover the fact that the production of various types of decorative arts for use in the royal courts and high societies of China and the surrounding East Asian countries was often governed by very specific and precise rules and systems in terms of *rites* having a direct link with *ancient Chinese religions* and *thought, Confucian philosophies,* and later religions such as *Buddhism* and *Daoism.* It is this particular understanding that guided the following study of the significant principles influencing the developments of underglaze blue vessels in China and Korea.

Thus, my research on rites began when I endeavoured to work out the reason for regularities and similarities in Chinese vessels from one period to the next, and in vessels from China and Korea in terms of decorative design and ware-shape. This, accordingly, directed me toward finding a system behind such phenomena. This type of inquiry and approach are often observed in anthropology. The hypotheses put forward in this dissertation cohere with several major theories in the area of Cultural Studies.

3.1. The anthropological concept and significance of rites and rituals

According to Anthropologists, religion, like culture itself, consists of systematic patterns of beliefs, and behaviour, acquired by man as a member of his society. These patterns are systematic because their manifestations are regular in occurrence and expression: they are shared by members of a group.[74)]

In his analysis of Aboriginal religion, Durkheim argued that the totemic method was provided with a set of entities that functioned as 'symbols' of less readily perceived phenomenon. Thus, these totems were identified with the unity and distinctiveness of the social groups. Totemic method proceeds by comparing and contrasting certain tangible properties possessed by the totemic species and then positing that where a culture possessed such a structured classificatory scheme. Thus, the group's identity as a unit was assured by celebrating its

74) Wall Malefijt, 1978, p. 6

totem. This identity was visually expressed in the pictorial representation of the totemic specified on sacred objects which the group possessed.[75] Thus, social scientists, representatively, Durkheim believe that the social unity brought by ritual played a significant role in maintaining social systems.

Myths, ritual behaviour, and sacred images and objects are symbolic in the same sense in which symbols of status, of political office, or of mourning are symbolic: each is endowed with meaning and communicates common values. Symbols are as vital to religion as they are to culture as a whole. They help to maintain culture and its institutions, and make it possible to pass on its basic values to new generations.[76]

When research for this dissertation began, it was not evident that there was any relationship between vessels and ideologies or religions. Consequently, the conclusions drawn here arise on the basis of a purely empirical investigation. This study shows that such a concept of religious practices and ritual phenomena observed in anthropology should be extended even to the area of vessels, in particular, the use and design of vessels for use at royal courts and high societies in China and many East Asian countries during the medieval and early modern period.

3.2. Concept of *li* in China, and design of vessels

Rites are universal in ancient societies. In China, one such rite, originating in ancient state religion and thoughts, and developed by Confucian scholars, was conceptualised and called "*li*" 禮. As will be explained in detail, *li* continuously constituted a central concept in social norms and ethics in Confucian societies across East Asia.

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75) Durkheime, pp. 155-6, 206; I wish to acknowledge Professor Lothar von Falkenhausen who suggested that I refer to anthropological and ritual studies on primitive societies in relation to the interpretation of my research on the ritual elements of the medieval and early modern vessels in East Asia.
76) Waal Malefijt, 1968, pp. 8-9.

Understanding a traditional monarchical society is difficult from the vantage point of an advanced industrial society underpinned by the capitalist system. As will be discussed in Part II and III, the place held by systems of rites controlling every aspect of the traditional royal court and high society in China and Korea has been overlooked when scholars have considered the manufacture of types of ordinary vessels such as bowls, dishes and bottles, in particular, after the Han dynasty (202 BC - AD 220). Even in case of state ceremonial-type of vessels, such as *jue* 爵 (ceremonial wine cup) and *dou* 豆 (ceremonial container for dry food) forms made using bronze as we can see in museums, research mostly concentrated on those produced prior to the Han dynasty. In approaching the background to the development of particular types of vessel used in the courts of traditional China and Korea, a study of the vessels used in their *wuli* 五禮 (Five Rites) is therefore extremely useful. One of the principal concepts of *wuli* is that every norm governing of social events had to be specified in accordance with discrete purposes. Even within an individual event, the time, place and holder of the event determine the precise manner of the observance. *Wuli* consists of: *jili* 吉禮 (auspicious ceremonies, includes sacrificial ceremonies); *xiongli* 凶禮 (ceremonies for ominous occasions, including mourning ceremonies); *binli* 賓禮 (ceremonies for receiving guests); *junli* 軍禮 (military ceremonies); and *jiali* 嘉禮 (celebratory ceremonies).

China's first three dynasties, the Xia 夏, semi-legendary dynasty, (traditional dates: 2205-1767 BC), the Shang 商 (traditionally, 1766-1123 BC), and the Zhou 周 (Western Zhou: 1123-771 BC; Eastern Zhou: 770-249 BC) were revered as utopias by later generations. Their governing systems and rites became a model for later dynasties. In particular, Zh*ouli* 周禮, formerly *Zhouguan* 周官 (government administration of the Zhou dynasty), gives a text giving general information on the governing systems and rites of the Zhou dynasty. One of the most important sections of *Zhouli* is that concerned with state rites, and is called *wuli.* Of all the sections of *Zhouli, wuli* was most widely used as a model by later dynasties in constructing their own state rites.

According to Max Wever, every social system attempts to establish and

cultivate its legitimacy.[77] Legitimacy can be gained when the governed see the regime as conforming to their own values or moral principles. They believe that it will produce decisions that accord with their expectations.[78] As many scholars, including K.C. Chang and, more recently, wecksler have pointed out, the concept of legitimacy and imperial rituals in China were inextricably linked.[79]

Among *Wuli, jili* or auspicious ceremonies appear to be most important. From the ancient period, Chinese monarchs used this type of ritual as the most important means of justifying their position as divine sovereigns, as Mandates of Heaven, and Sons of Heaven. This concept is introduced in *Xujing* 書經 (Book of History) and appears to have been used in the assurance of political legitimacy.[80] Ancient Chinese monarchs needed ostentatious ceremonies, consisting of elaborate psychological and physical processes, in which the monarchs themselves and their people shared myths, gods and symbols. At the same time, by placing themselves at the top of the hierarchy of people who endeavoured to communicate with Heaven and gods, those monarchs demonstrated and consolidated their position.

A number of archaeological studies from ancient China reveal the close relationship between its material culture and state cults originating in religion, and between state cults and politics, for example, in the case of the Shang, the Zhou and the Han (206 BC-220 AD) periods.[81]

However, few studies have been conducted on Chinese vessel systems other than typical state sacrificial vessel types; even with such typical state sacrificial vessels, those after the Han dynasty have not been fully

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77) Weber, 1947, pp. 325; wecksler, 1985, p. 10.

78) Easton, p. 278; Dolg Sternberger, 1968, "Legitimacy" In the International Encyclopedia of the Social Science, ed. David L. Sills, 9:244-48. New York, 1968. p. 244; wecksler, p. 10

79) Chang, *Shang Civilisation*, 1980, pp. 202-209, _____, *Art, Myth, and Ritual, The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China*, Harvard University Press, 1983; Wecshler, pp. 11-20.

80) Fehl, 1971, p.81; wecksler, 1985, pp. 23-24

81) Representative research on the relationship between material culture and state cults include K.C. Chang, *Shang Civilisation*, 1980, pp. 202-209, _____, *Art, Myth, and Ritual, The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China*, Harvard University Press, 1983; Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-belles in the culture of Bronze Age China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, Stanford University Press, 1995.

explored. Yet, as will be explored in this dissertation, it should be noted that even after the Han dynasty, the close relationship between rites, rituals and vessels was continued.

In addition, although in studies of ancient Chinese material culture, ceremonies relating to state cults have been a focus, it should be noted that *Wuli* consists of four more other rites, as well as the sacrificial ceremony.

It is also necessary to examine more precisely the concept of rites over time. The concept of *li* evolved over history. Its meaning originated in the meaning of symbolising a sacrificial act.[82] However, in the hands of Confucian scholars, the concept of *li* underwent remarkable evolution. Wudi 武帝 (BC. 141-BC. 87) of the Han dynasty promulagated Confucianism as state ideology in the fifth year of his reign (BC. 136) and set up official posts for the research of Classics, Book of Poetry, Book of History, Book of Rites, Book of Songs, Book of Changes, and Spring and Autumn Annals. It should be noted that it was by Confucian scholars that ancient rites were reconstructed and state rites for each of later dynasties were devised.[83]

Confucian scholars further developed the meaning of *li*. In Confucianism, *li* (propriety) constitutes one of the most important concepts along with *ren* 仁 (goodness, humanity) probably its most well-known concept.[84] Its meaning evolved to denote the feeling of respect and reverence as defined by Mencius.[85]

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82) As Wing-tsit Chan has pointed out, *li* originally meant "a religous sacrifice." Zhu Xi, *Reflections on Things at Hand,* trans. Wing-tsit Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 367; Tu p. 21.

83) Details of this section of writing will be independently published in the near future.

84) Tu Wei-ming, 1979 p. 5

85) The earliest available dictionary meaning of *li* is "trading" or "following". It specifically mean the step or act whereby spiritual beings are properly served and human happiness obtained. Tu, p. 21. See also, Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi,* 1a: 4.3, *Kangxi zidian* (reprint, Taipei: I-wen Book Co., '1957), p. 1920. According to Mencius, "The feeling of respect and reverence is what we call *li.*" *Mencius,* 6A. 6. See Wing-tsit Chan, trans, and comp., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 54. Cf.D.C. Lau, D.C., trans, *Mencius* (Baltimore, Md.: penguin Classics, 1970), p. 163.

Given this evolution in meaning, Tu Wei-ming argues that *li* implies the existence of an "other." It necessarily involves a relationship or a process by which a relationship comes into being. As a concept of personal morality, while *ren* is used to describe the highest human achievement ever reached through moral self-cultivation,[86] *li* can be conceived as an externalisation of *ren* in a specific social context.[87] *Ren* gives "meaning" to all other ethical norms that perform integrative functions in a Confucian society.[88]

It is in this context that *li* came to emerge and develop as a central concept in all that took place within the court, high society and state events. The importance of the conduct of *li* should not be over under-estimated as it was primarily the sense of reverence felt by the society on which the authority of the royal court rested.

As this dissertation will explore, even the choice of designs and the use of vessels were regulated in the context of *li*. This also means that the adoption of vessels of a particular type and style as state rites, as court objects acted as a significance stimulus to their production.

It is important, however, to note that the *li* specified for vessels evolved. Accordingly, the adoption of certain vessels in various state ceremonies and high society took place against the background of a vast and complex system of vessels which had evolved over a very long time. Without recognising their existence and without undertaking an accurate and detailed analysis of the systems in which they were used, it is impossible to discover the reason why certain types of ware were selected for use in state rituals and as vessels for use in Confucian court and high society. The nature and detail of such evolution will be respectively further discussed in Part I and Part IV.

Most importantly, in understanding medieval and early modern vessels in terms of *li* or state rites, I had to solve another major question.

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86) Tu, p. 7.
87) Tu, p. 10.
88) Tu, pp. 6-7.

Such rites, derived from the ancient period did not provide me with any answer in relation to vessels, such as dishes, bowls, jars and bottles which are entirely different from ancient bronze ceremonial vessel types, and can be commonly observed in most Chinese vessels from the Han dynasty onwards. The clue for this only came when I was able to recognise the complex pattern of evolution of rites themselves. More specifically, quite diverse elements, derived from other religions and customs of later periods, gradually intermingled into a single 'unit.' The nature of this 'unit' which came to structure Chinese state rites will be disclosed in Chapter One and Two of Part II. One of the representative examples for this is ceremonies held on festive days originating in religions practised by contemporary society. They include religious ceremonies and religious style ancestral ceremonies, and new practices which did not originate in the Classics. Thus, the practice of dedicating ceremonies to tombs and shrines other than *zongmaio* 宗廟 (Main Ancestral Hall), as well as *zongmiao* itself, on festive days, derived from other religions became customary during the Han dynasty. This practice was eventually incorporated into the framework of state rites during the Tang dynasty.

There has long been a dichotomy in the interpretation of ritual vessels. One has had to choose between a view of them as originating in ancient Chinese state rites or in those of later religions such as Daoism and Buddhism. It is true that the use of vessels was strictly controlled according to specific rites, so that vessels for use in Buddhist monasteries could not be used arbitrarily in state ceremonies. However, it should be noted that the evolution of the system of state rites itself, in certain cases, integrated the rites of religions practised at the contemporary royal court. Thus, in the case of religious style ceremonies conducted at *yuanmiao* 原廟 (literally, original shrine), for example, vessels specified in Buddhist rites and from contemporary customs also came to be used.

To avoid any confusion, some explanation on the terminology for such varied ceremonies would be necessary. Hereafter, various types of ceremony or rituals incorporated into Chinese state rites and developed under the influence of Confucian scholars, will be generally called, "Confucian rites." Meanwhile, religious ceremonies held in the context of Confucian rites, will be termed, "religious-style ceremonies." The rest will be called, "Confucian-style ceremonies." However, among these ceremonies, when specification is necessary, those largely maintaining

the ancient rites, despite the later influence of Confucianism, will be termed, "rites based on the ancient model."

Moreover, it is very important to understand that this does not necessarily mean that the ceremonies conducted on these religious festive days were solely ancestral ceremonies. Festive days naturally bring banquets together with sacrificial ceremonies. Since festive days originated in the divisions of calenders and were closely related to the harvest or the availability of products according to agricultural cycles, these are the days for thanking and celebrating. In the ancient period, festive days necessarily accompanied offerings to gods, whichever forms they took, for example, including those for Heaven, and in the case of China, and those for ancestors as well. It was usually the case that banquets were held after the service, and most of the food provided for the offerings was consumed by the participants. This process would also have needed a great number of vessels related to religions than ancient Chinese religion.

In this way, an understanding of this type of ceremonial vessel system is essential to the discovery of both the nature and system of Buddhist ceremonial vessels, as Part IV will show. This is also a vital step for any attempt to relate them to extant vessels, as will be observed in the case of underglaze blue wares from the early Ming and Choson dynasties for use at the royal courts. I cannot overemphasised that rites underpinned every norm in traditional Confucian society, including even the question of which vessels should be used. This premise led me to look at Buddhist rites, in order to examine certain types of vessel. Although certain texts describe ritual processes, it has not previously been noted that, except for a few, each of the vessels appearing in the manuscripts were originally codified according to a specific system of Buddhist rituals. Such a realisation could come only if we are able to understand the rites originated in ancient China and developed under the influence of Confucianism. It was this that lay behind the use of vessels.

Hardly any research has been conducted into contemporary types of vessel, such as bowls, dishes, jars and bottles in China, after the Han dynasty, and in East Asian countries, in particular, Southeast, and Korea, in relation to rites; The primary reason for this phenomenon is

that they hardly have been understood in term of rites. Another important reason for the under-exploration of rites in relation to vessel study lies in the fact that information on this sort of rite and on state ceremonies is very difficult to find. Among the great number of Chinese historical texts and the classics, one finds it hard to track down the relevant textual sources. Further, no single text records or provides full information on the ritual frameworks for state or court vessels. Tracing ritual frameworks is only possible by retrieving each piece of isolated information from a great number of different textual sources, and synthesising and interpreting the results in a specific context.

Since I began to research Chinese and Korean ceramics from the perspective of rituals, several scholars have also noted the relationship between Confucianism and other religions, and ceramics in both China and Korea during the medieval or early Modern era. However, with a few exceptions, there has rarely been any exploration of specific literary evidence and certain types of vessels. Independently, in 1993, Rawson pointed out that Chinese ceramic wares from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries were often made for use at court or for temple rituals.[89] She assumes that white porcelain Ding wares (wares manufactured at Dingyao 定窯, the Ding kiln factories) were very likely to have been used as Buddhist ceremonial wares, often as substitutes for silver wares. She bases this assumption on the fact that a great number of silver and Ding white porcelain wares in the form of typical Buddhist ceremonial objects, such as water sprinklers or ewers, a vessel in the shape of a conch shell, incense burners and boxes, were discovered among Buddhist relics found in two pagodas excavated at Dingxian 定縣 in 977 and 995. On the other hand, she also highlights the fact that in tombs of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234), in southern China, bronze vessels were recovered, and from the fourteenth century, celadon of bronze vessel shape were frequently recovered. She related such a phenomenon to the influence of Neo-Confucianism.[90] Nevertheless, she regards it as difficult to reach any accurate understanding of the functions or values of ceramics

89 Rawson, 1993, pp. 71-94.
90 Rawson, 1993, pp. 87-89.

which occur only occasionally at archaeological sites and which are almost never mentioned in texts.[91] Her argument and attention has not turned either to the actual rites, their content nor to the records in the texts.

Also independently in 1993 and 1994, Christine Lau and Li Minhua discussed Ming imperial monochrome porcelain vessels and the date of the establishment of the Xiuneisi 修內司 imperial kiln factory of the Song dynasty. In approaching their topics, both scholars refer to the idea of state rites. While they have made important contributions, they have not explored the ritual system itself. Lau bases her argument concerning monochrome vessels, which were used as formal sacrificial wares in state rites during the early Ming dynasty, on a limited number of historical records.[92] She briefly points out that porcelain vessels used in rituals during this period were based upon short sentences from *Zhouli* 周禮 (Zhou Dynasty Rites) as recorded in Ming historical texts. Nevertheless, she does not recognise the phenomenon in the context of the history of the ritual vessel system but deals with the case in isolation. Her work is based upon special imperial orders for the manufacture of sacrificial ceremonial vessels during the early Ming dynasty. Li focuses on determining the precise date of the establishment of the Xiuneisi Guanyao imperial kiln factory during the Southern Song dynasty and suggests that the purpose of the kiln was the production of ritual vessels for court use.[93] The details of the system itself, however, are not examined. Furthermore, the evolving system of ritual vessels, is neither recognised nor explored.

Full attention has never been paid to the existence of Buddhist ritual vessel systems, other than typical sacrificial ceremonial vessels, nor have such systems been fully explored. For example, only symbolic ritual instruments, such as *vajra*, conch shells and objects with an obviously distinctive shape, such as monk's cap jugs, have been understood as vessels specified in rites. The design and use of vessels

91 Rawson, 1993, p. 73.
92 Lau, 1993, pp. 83-89.
93 Li, 1994, pp. 47-52.

- for example, dishes, bowls, jars, ewers and bottles from the medieval period - have not been understood in terms of vessels specified in rites.

When approaching Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue vessels, it is important to highlight several intriguing facts: Why did the manufacture of vessels decorated with blue pigment flourish from the fourteenth century and reach its technical and aesthetic peak at the beginning of the Ming dynasty? Why was the production of underglaze blue vessels resembling Islamic metalwork, particularly active in imperial kiln factory, in particular, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty? It has often been pointed out that there are elements, in the earliest Korean underglaze blue vessels, similar to those of Chinese Ming underglaze blue wares of the Hongwu, Yongle and Xuande wares.[94] When exploring the introduction of underglaze blue vessels from China into Korea, the following questions are also significant. Are these wares similar or can differences be discovered between them? What are the reason for the representative similarities and differences?

As detailed above, this dissertation approaches such questions in terms of rites, and intellectual, religious and cultural, socio-economic differences between periods and areas specific to early Ming, and early Choson. Concerning the specific conditions of Ming and early Choson dynasties, the following issues will be studied. What were the details of the state and court rites in relation to the design and use of porcelain vessels at the early Ming imperial court and based upon Neo-Confucianism? What was the principal religion which most influenced ancestral ceremonies conducted at the court? How did they influence the emergence of underglaze blue wares at the early Ming imperial court? Did the Hongwu Emperor's individual attitude and philosophy significantly contribute to the shaping of porcelain history? If they did, in which precise way? In relation to this, the Neo-Confucian inclination of the early Ming Emperors will be examined. Did the international and internal politics of the early Ming dynasty influence the development of the porcelain vessels manufactured for the Ming court? To explore this, the financial

94) Chung, 1992, pp. 410-414.

policies of the early Ming government will be examined. Accordingly, the value of porcelain wares at the early Ming dynasty will also be discussed.

In relation to the introduction of similar types of vessl into Korea, the early Choson state and court rites, and their relationship with vessels will be explored. In particular, we will ask how Choson's specific Confucian intellectual conditions, Buddhist tradition, and its native cultural tradition, political and economic relationships with Ming China have impacted in the process of establishing and practising those rites, which, in turn, influenced the introduction of production of underglaze blue wares from China.

In exploring vessels specified in rites, this dissertation concentrates on *jili*, or auspicious rites including sacrificial ceremonies, for which rich records were made by the Confucian governments in China and Korea. Yet, as mentioned earlier, this does not necessarily mean that *jili* was the sole source of demand for such vessels. Sacrificial ceremonies were always followed by banquets. Thus, by analysing the religious features involved in sacrificial ceremonies, I also explore vessels for use in their feasts. Nevertheless, as will be explored, a large proportion of underglaze blue wares and white porcelain vessels appear to have been used in sacrificial ceremonies. This is why I need to concentrate upon the analysis of sacrificial ceremonial rites.

Thus, the main body of the thesis has five parts.

Part I explores, and thus provides a large map, of the history of vessels specified in rites. The evolution of such specifications and the causes for such alterations will also be explored. At the end of each chapter, specifications for vessels for use in early Ming state rites will be examined. Chapter 1 examines the concept and principles of ritual vessels for use in state sacrificial ceremonies. Chapter 2 explores state sacrificial vessels used in the *zongmiao* 宗廟 (Ceremonial Hall for royal ancestors and deceased sovereigns) in relation to the history of Chinese ritual vessels. Chapter 3 turns to those for *jiaosi* 郊祀 (ceremonies performed at altars placed at the four cardinal directions of the suburbs) in the context of the history of ritual vessel system.

Part II analyses ceremonies, incorporated into the framework of state rites from the Han dynasty onwards, and held inside the court and monasteries sponsored by the court, and their vessels. Chapter 4 is devoted to an exploration of the origins and features of ancestral ceremonies as one of the most important ceremonies held within this framework of rites from the Han to the Song dynasties. Chapter 5 studies Fengxiandian 奉先殿, the ancestral shrine built inside the Ming imperial court upon the order of Hongwu Emperor, and its ceremonial vessels. Chapter 6 turns to imperial ancestral ceremonies in which religious practices were incorporated and their vessels during the early Ming dynasty.

Part III explores the origins of early Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels in relation to Buddhist rites. It uncovers the system of vessels specified in Buddhist rites. It further explores how they were interpreted and visually expressed in early Ming imperial porcelain wares, in particular, blue wares, monochrome and polychrome and underglaze vessels. Chapter 7 examines the concept and principles present in Buddhist ceremonial vessels. Chapter 8 analyses the colours and decorative elements specified in both rites based on ancient model and those of Confucian-style, and Buddhist rites. The discussion then turns to an exploration of the derivation of the decorative elements in early Ming porcelain vessels, for example, monochrome, polychrome and underglaze blue wares. Chapter 9 explores the derivation of shapes of important Ming underglaze blue vessels which show resemblances to West Asian metalwork, with reference to texts on the specific context in which they were used.

Part IV investigates the characteristics of the specification of vessels used in state ceremonies at the early Chosŏn royal court in the context of a history of rites, and those for the King's table. An analysis and interpretation will be made in the context of Korea's intellectual conditions, religion and tradition, and its political and economic relationships with China. Similar analyses will be made of vessels specified in the rites for the religion practised by the royal court and mostly involved in royal ancestral ceremonies. Chapter 10 explores vessels for use in the sacrificial ceremonies held by the state, specified in state rites during the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods, and

ancestral ceremonies. Chapter 11 examines wares for use at the King's daily table. Chapter 12 investigates Buddhist-style ancestral ceremonies and vessels specified in Buddhist rites from the late Koryŏ (918-1392) to the early Choson periods.

Part V discusses the introduction of underglaze blue wares into Korea. It studies how certain principles of rites were expressed and visualised into this type of vessel in combination with the particular socio-political and economic setting of the period. In Chapter 13, a thorough examination of textual sources yields clues to the uses of certain vessels and to the earliest date for the manufacture of underglaze blue wares under the Chosŏn dynasty. The scope of the examination will include: specified uses of underglaze blue wares during the reign of King Sejong (1419-1450); the availability of blue pigment up to the middle period of King Sejong's reign; and the functions of porcelain wares from the beginning of the dynasty to the reign of King Myŏngjong (1546-67). In particular, the conditions of availability and use of metalwork, both in the context of domestic economic conditions and diplomatic relationship with Ming, will be examined. Chapter 14 suggests dates for the production of representative extant examples of the earliest underglaze blue vessels decorated with lotus scrolls, on the basis of a stylistical analysis. Chapter 15 explores the background to the earliest manufacture of underglaze blue porcelain vessels. Examinations are made of the processes through which similar manufacturing practices were introduced from China into Korea. The specific origin of the lotus scroll design found on the earliest Korean underglaze blue vessels and of the question of the driving forces which propelled the fashions of the times will also be explored.

PART I

EARLY MING IMPERIAL VESSELS FOR USE IN SACRIFICIAL CEREMONIES SPECIFIED IN CLASSICS

In Part I, I aim to uncover the historical evolution of ritual vessels. This work will help us to trace the origin of influences on early Ming ceremonial vessels, and to understand how and when relevant rites lay behind certain types of imperial vessel. In the first place, we can learn how interpretations of the Classics influenced the reconstructions of ritual vessels in later dynasties. Thus, it will be seen that early Ming patterns of imperial vessels were controlled within a framework in which particular rites guided design specifications.

However, it is not my intention to explore in full the details of vessels used in every type of state rites originating in classics. In Part I, among ceremonies belonging to the Great Sacrifices, those of *zongmiao* and *jiaosi* will be focused. This is because, first of all, the focus of our discussion is the high quality imperial vessels manufactured at Zhushan kiln sites. If this type of vessel had been required in any of these ceremonies, they must have been used in the Great Sacrifice normally performed by the Emperor himself. Secondly, as will be explored below, whether a ceremony was specified to be carried out indoors as was the case with *zongmiao,* or outdoors, as with *jiaosi,* largely determined the type of raw materials out of which the ceremonial vessels were to be made.

The study of white porcelain vessels is important for exploring the derivation of underglaze blue vessels. It should be noted that many vessel shapes and decorative motifs present in white porcelain wares are also commonly found in underglaze blue vessels. In addition, textual sources are available concerning the use of the former but not for the latter. Therefore, on the basis of our understanding of the system of vessel specification, I will identify the relationship between rites applied to vessels, and the employment of white porcelain vessels at the early Ming imperial court. This will help greatly in exploring underglaze blue vessels.

A large percentage of the porcelain for use in the imperial household was manufactured at imperial kilns built at Zhushan 珠山 located in Jingdezhen in Jiangxi Province. Ming imperial porcelain vessels are for the most part collected in numerous museums around the world. In addition to this, parts of the Jingdezhen site, corresponding to the period from the Hongwu to the Chenghua reigns, have recently been

excavated.[95] As pointed out by the excavator, Liu Xinyuan, although there was a period of disruption to the manufacture of imperial wares between the end of the Yuan era and the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the production of underglaze blue vessels continued.[96]

Types of vessel produced at Zhushan include: high-fired white porcelain, underglaze blue, and underglaze blue and red wares, along with low-fired wares of other colour combinations such as brown-glazed decorations applied to white and black-glazed grounds. Liu attributes dates to each excavated site.

Whether one concurs with the details of Liu's schema, his attributions at the level of broad time frames such as reigns are based on reign inscriptions and stratigraphy. From strata four and five, found along the north side of the eastern stretch of the middle section of the Zhushan road, and dated to the early Yongle period,[97] white porcelain vessels of bronze *jue* 爵 (ceremonial wine cup) and *dou* 豆 (ceremonial container for dry food) forms were excavated.[98] However, the majority of excavated vessels consist of bowls and dishes. Among the white porcelain sherds, particularly those from the early Yongle stratum, a group of vessels generally considered as having been influenced by West Aisan metalwork were unearthed. These items include stem cups, pear-shaped ewers, tankards, large plates, *bianhu* pilgrim flasks, censers, and various types of ewer.

As we know, all these types of vessel are also present in early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares. Although some white porcelain vessels belonging to this class are not decorated, the major proportion exhibit incised or moulded decorations. The motifs range from dragons, phoenixes, scrolls and sprays of flowers and auspicious fruit, peonies, and Eight Buddhist Emblems supported by lotus blossoms and assorted other emblems, all of which are similar to those found on underglaze blue vessels.[99] At Gongguanling dated to late Yongle period the repertoire had expanded to include sea creatures and

95 See Liu, 1989, pp. 15-51.
96 Liu, 1996, pp. 26-28.
97 Liu, 1989, p. 62, 66.
98 Liu, 1996, p. 39.
99 Liu, 1989, pp. 58-63.

Sanskrit script.[100] Although the estimated number of white porcelain vessels in the stratum attributed to the Xuande period shows a decline while production of underglaze blue vessels was increased, the shapes of vessels and their surface decorations remained more or less similar.[101] Liu has pointed out that the Yongle Emperor favoured white porcelain wares. It is recorded that when a Muslim ruler from the western region sent a tribute of jade bowls, the Emperor ordered the Ministry of Rites to return the tribute saying that he did not need such wares as the Chinese porcelain that he used every day was pure and translucent.[102] Recently, with reference to a few records documented in Ming historical texts, C. Lau has pointed out that white porcelain bowls and dishes were manufactured for use in ceremonies held at *zongmiao* (Ceremonial Hall for royal ancestors and deceased sovereigns), *jiaosi* (Ceremonies performed at altars placed at the four cardinal directions of the suburbs) and Fengxiandian 奉先殿, the ancestral shrine built inside the Ming imperial court and the imperial tombs.[103] Lau notes the edict issued by the Hongwu Emperor in 1369, and cited in *Da Ming Huidian* 大明會典 (Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty) which states that sacrificial wares were to be manufactured using porcelain. She suggests that sacrificial ceremonial vessels were made using pottery as specified in *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), with reference to an appeal from a government official recorded in *Ming Shi.* Previously favoured metals such as gold, silver and bronze were no longer officially chosen during the Ming dynasty. In addition, Lau believes that the ceremonial vessels were shaped according to contemporary styles, since *Da Ming Huidian* illustrates vessels of plain types being used in state sacrifices.[104] Based upon a small number of Ming historical records, Lau also contends that white porcelain vessels of a contemporary type were universally used in ceremonies throughout the Ming dynasty. I agree with Lau's suggestion that some white porcelain wares were made for use in *zongmiao, jiaosi,* Fengxiandian and perhaps the imperial tombs, along

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100 Liu, 1989, p. 65.

101 Liu, 1989, p. 68.

102 Liu, 1989, p. 73; See *Ming Shilu,* vol. 11: *Taizong Shilu, juan* 60, p. 0879.

103 Lau, 1993a pp. 83-99.

104 Lau, 1993a , p. 92; *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 82, pp. 1298-1300, 1308-1311, 1315, 1320, 1324-1325, 1339, 1342, 1349, 1351, 1352 1354, 1369, 1381-1382.

along with Emperor's table as pointed out by Liu. However, in many points, my results are sharply different from Lau's. These include: the period in which these porcelain vessels were used; the proportion of porcelain vessels used in *zongmiao, jiaosi,* Fengxiandian, and, possibly, at the imperial tombs; the specific types of vessel used; and the specific reason for employing porcelain vessels.

My purpose in Part I is to show that while only a limited number of white porcelain vessels were employed as ceremonial vessels in *zongmiao,* those to be used at the *jiaosi* were specified as pottery in the rites of the Tang and Song dynasties originating in the Classical period. This resulted in the employment during the early Ming dynasty of a large number of porcelain vessels for this function. Most vessels for use in *jiaosi* were, however, of a traditional ceremonial type. In order to understand the ceremonial uses of porcelain wares, it is very important to investigate the use of porcelain wares in the context of ritual systems. We therefore turn to the concept and principles of ritual vessels for use in state sacrificial ceremonies and the types of ceremonial vessel used in major state ceremonies, in particular, those held in *zongmiao* and *jiaosi.*

Chapter 1

The concept and principles of ritual vessels for use in state sacrificial ceremonies

Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (Hongwu, r. 1368-98) began to build the foundation of a universal empire during 1367, which he proclaimed as the First Year of Wu 吳. This year was clearly chosen to proclaim his independence from his Red Turban rebel background and to establish his universal sovereignty over the whole Middle Kingdom.[105] Although the Hongwu Emperor was previously a devotee of the *Bailian* 白蓮教 (White Lotus Sect),[106] this doctrine was proclaimed pagan and banned. The Emperor attempted to achieve a reunified empire after the intervention of the Jin dynasty and the Mongol invasion. He claimed to establish a state solidly based upon Confucianism. The rituals that were to govern the state ceremonial activities of the court were established at the beginning of the Ming dynasty.[107] In particular, to overcome his own complex about his background as a former rebellious and farmer, and to demonstrate that Zhu, himself, was the orthodox inheritor of the mandate of Heaven, every state ritual was reconstructed in detail and in a grandiose manner. Zhu strongly desired to restore the former glories of the Chinese empire on a firm basis, and to be an orthodox successor to his models, the Han, Tang and Song dynasties.

In the Confucian state, rites set the norms which governed every aspect of society from the upper class to plebians. In conducting any form of social event, one was required to follow specified norms and etiquettes. Zhu, who established a new dynasty by overthrowing the

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105 Mote and Twitchett ed., 1988, p.108.

106 This particular sect of Buddhism was popular among the masses during the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. Established during the Southern Song dynasty, the sect emphasized the idea of *jingtu* 淨土 (pure land); accordingly, frugality, simplicity, cleanliness and calm were encouraged. *Zhonghua fojiao baike quan shu bianji weiyuanhui,* 1994, vol. 4, p. 1824.

107 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 536.

Yuan Empire, endeavoured to provide a political system on the basis of which his successors could successfully maintain the regime, founding rituals and legal codes best suited to this purpose.

Ming textual sources, including both *Da Ming Jili* 大明集禮 (Collected Rites for the Ming Dynasty) and *Da Ming Huidian* show that references for them were taken from texts of the China's first three dynasties, Xia 夏 semi-legendary dynasty, (traditional dates: 2205-1767 BC), the Shang 商 (traditionally, 1766-1123 BC), and the Zhou 周 (Western Zhou: 1123-771 BC; Eastern Zhou: 770-249 BC), Han, and in particular, those of Tang and Song dynasties.[108]

Immediately after the establishment of the new dynasty, imperial edict issued in the second year of the Hongwu reign (1369) which ordered that sacrificial ceremonial vessels be made of porcelain.[109] This important edict was followed by others: in the twenty-sixth year of the Hongwu reign (1393), it was ordered that porcelain vessels dedicated to the imperial house be made in accordance with specified patterns.[110] This regulation was also applied to metalwork.[111] In the same year, it was also decreed that all objects and sacrificial vessels manufactured for use in the imperial court were to be produced accordingly.[112] Although the particular regulations were modified over time, we can suppose that there must always have been certain specifications governing patterns, as this had been the case in every Confucian society. Thus, at least at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, many types of sacrificial vessel were made of porcelain. Given these conditions, sacrificial ceremonies and their vessels emerge as topics of considerable importance in relation to early Ming imperial porcelain vessels. Understanding the concept of sacrificial ceremonial vessels used in Tang and Song rituals and providing a model for those of Ming is, therefore, of utmost importance.

Although briefly introduced in Introduction, it would be an order to further explain about state rites. The model for state rites in Chinese

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108 *Siku Quanshu* vol. 649, pp. 66-67; *Da Ming Huidian*, pp. 1-5.
109 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 201, p. 2715.
110 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 194, p. 2631.
111 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 194, p. 2633.
112 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 201 p. 2715.

dynasties, in particular during the Tang and Song dynasties, was taken from those practised during the Zhou dynasty. China's first three dynasties praised as utopias by later generations, and accordingly their governing systems and rites were used as utmost important references for later dynasties. *Zhouli*, a text giving general information on the governing systems and rites of the Zhou dynasty preserved, and thus was referred in reconstructing details of Zhou rites in later dynasties. In particular, the contents of *Zhouli* were systematically reconstructed from notes and comments made by Zhengxian 鄭鉉 during the later Han dynasty (23-220).[113] *Zhouli* includes important imformation on state rites called *wuli* 五禮 (Five Rites). *Wuli* consists of five parts: *jili* 吉禮 (auspicious ceremonies), *xiongli* 凶禮 (ceremonies for ominous occasions), *binli* 賓禮 (ceremonies for receiving guests), *junli* 軍禮 (military ceremonies) and *jiali* 嘉禮 (celebratory ceremonies). Of all the sections of *Zhouli*, *wuli* was most widely used as a model by later dynasties in constructing their own state rites. Since the Kaiyuanli 開元禮 (Rites Established during the Kaiyuan Era, 713-741, of the Tang dynasty), devised during the Kaiyuan period, state rites had been clearly divided into five independent and systematized rituals, as they appear in *Zhouli*.

The *Zhouli* along with other two other Classics *Yili* 儀禮 (Ceremonial Rites), *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) are together called *Sanli* 三禮 (Three Rites), and became the most important of the Classics. These three texts together with other classical literatures provided the primary source for later reconstructions of rites of the three ancient dynasties.[114]

The reconstruction of Zhou rites undertaken during the Tang dynasty was identified as being incorrect by Confucian scholars of the Song dynasty.[115] Whether or not the Tang reconstruction was identical to the original, Tang state rituals were, in fact, conducted with specific reference to it. According to *Tongdian* 通典 (Encyclopedia of Rites), one of the representative texts edited during the Tang dynasty in which Zhou rites were also reconstructed, the section of *jili*, was subdivided into various sacrificial ceremonies: *tiandi* 天地 (Heaven and

113 Im Tongsok, 1987, pp. 314-317.
114 *Yukyo Tasajon*, 1990, p. 1431.
115 See *Song Shi*, *juan* 99, pp. 2435-38; *Ming Shi*, *juan* 8, p. 545.

Earth), *zongmiao*, *mingtang* 明堂 (Hall of Light),[116] *sheji* 社稷 (Land God and Grain God), various gods of nature, including *chaorishiyue* 朝日夕月 (Morning Sun and Evening Moon), and other gods. The ceremonies for Heaven and Earth were further divided into those performed on the *yuanqiu* (Round Raised Ground) 圓丘 to Heaven, on the *fangqiu* 方丘 (Square Raised Ground) to Earth, in the *sijiao* 四郊 (Four Suburbs) in the north, south, east and west of the capital for the spirits of the four seasons, and on the *sheji* to the Spirits of Grain and Land. Several types of ceremony were arranged for each god.

An examination of textual sources shows that ritual processes, musical pieces, sacrifices and sacrificial wares also differed according to each type of ceremony. In all such sacrificial ceremonies, the most important task was the dedication of food, for which wares of various types were employed. Although some sacrificial vessels of the same type were commonly used in the ceremonies for Heaven, Earth, *zongmiao* and others, different vessels were also used in each of these ceremonies. The number of vessels used also differed. In which ceremony, to which god, in which order, and by whom, the food contained in each vessel was to be dedicated, directly determined which vessels were to be used. For example, the uses to which particular types of vessel were put differed according to the type of ceremony; whether they were employed, for instance, in *zongmiao* or *jiaosi*.

Although in contemporary state rites of the Tang dynasty the process appears to have been modified to a certain extent, the general framework, in which various types of ceremonial vessel were used in combination as the situation demanded, remained basically similar to those in the Zhou rites reconstructed during the Tang dynasty. This is also true of the remaining ceremonies.[117]

Although the details were modified over time, the basic fact remains

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116 It is generally believed that the *mingtang* was the main ancestral and sacrificial Hall where the sovereign also conducted his official duties and a variety of state ceremonies. However, the name of the place in which the perfomances listed above were carried out differed over history. In the Classics, different views on the system of the *mingtang* are presented. *Dai Kanwa jiten*, vol. 5, p. 775. 13805: 399.

117 *Tongdian* extensively documents the process of ceremonies. See *Tongdian*, *juan* 106, 109-116, 119-122, 2761-1777, 2821-2845, 2846-2982, and 3042-3145.

that a variety of vessels were employed in turn in accordance with the user and the object of dedication, as well as the types of food, times and places of the ceremonies. As we will see in the next chapter, such an obsessive strictness towards ceremonial vessel specification resulted in a major modification during the Song dynasty.

Chapter 2

Ceremonial vessels for use in *zongmiao* (Ceremonial Hall for royal ancestors and deceased sovereigns)

Ming Shi 明史 states that in establishing state rites at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, *Zhouguan* and *Yili* 儀禮 (Ceremonial rites) were largely referred to along with the rites of the Han (202 BC- AD 220), Tang (617-906) and Song (960-1279) dynasties.[118] During the Yongle period, *Zhuji jiali* 朱子家禮 (Family rites established by Zhu Xi 朱熹, 1130-1200, the leading Neo-Confucianist philosopher of the Southern Song dynasty) was also encouraged to be practised over the state.[119] State ceremonies of the early Ming dynasty are divided into three levels: *Da si* 大祀 (the Great Sacrifices), *Zhong si* 中祀 (the Intermediate Sacrifices), *Xiao si* 小祀 (the Minor Sacrifices). The Great Sacrifices were those over which the Emperor should have presided in person. They include ceremonies dedicated to Heaven, Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the Temple of the Imperial Ancestors, the Patron Saint of Agriculture and the Guardian Spirits of the State and the Harvests. The intermediate Sacrifices, which include those for Gods of Towns, of Stars, of Winds, Clouds, Thunder and Rain, of Sea, of Mountains, of Literature, of Medicine, and Emperors and Kings of preceding dynasties were performed by delegation on behalf of the Emperor. The minor Sacrifices dedicated to minor gods and spirits were carried out by an official.[120]

As mentioned above, in Part I, we will examine *zongmiao* and *jiaosi* among ceremonies belonging to the Great Sacrifices. This is due to the reason that if such high quality imperial vessels manufactured at Zhushan kiln sites were used in state ceremonies, it is very likely that the Great Sacrifice normally performed by the Emperor himself. Secondly, as will be explored below, whether a ceremony was

118 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 536.
119 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 536.
120 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, pp. 536-37.

specified to be carried out indoors as was the case with *zongmiao,* or outdoors, as with *jiaosi,* largely determined the type of raw materials out of which the ceremonial vessels were to be made.

According to later texts, including *Tongdian* 通典, one day in each season, five times a year, was believed to have been specified as a regular ceremonial day at *zongmiao* during the three ancient dynasties.[121] Such was also the case with the early Ming dynasty.[122] The rites of *zongmiao* followed an extremely complicated line of evolution. In fact, it should be noted that during the Hongwu reign, all the rituals, including those for sacrificial ceremonies, were continuously modified. Since the focus of this dissertation does not lie in the rites themselves, but in ritual vessels and their uses, only points concerning relevant rites will be dealt with.[123]

What kind of sacrificial wares were used in *zongmiao* at the beginning of the Ming dynasty? At this point, we need to refer to *Da Ming Jili,* published in the third year of the Hongwu reign (1370), sections of which are devoted to descriptions of ceremonial vessels for use at *zongmiao.* For example, concerning *dou* 豆, this text states:

> *Dou*
> According to the system of diagrams compiled by Ni shi 倪氏 (Mr. Ni)...in the past, [*dou* were] made of wood...in the later period, [they were] cast using copper.[124]

It appears that even as to the design of one type of vessel, for example, *dou,* several different opinions have been put forward. It seems that the appearance of *dou* vessels was not consistent over time. How can we understand this phenomenon? To begin with, we need to turn our attention to the person called Ni mentioned in the above quotation. According to *Song Shi,* in the year following the ascent of

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121 *Tongdian, juan* 49, pp. 1364-65.

122 *Ming Shi, juan* 51, p. 578.

123 The details of the modifications are thoroughly recorded in Ming historical sources, including the Veritable Records, and *Ming Shi.* Concerning early Ming legislation, and state sacrifices, see Edward L. Farmer, *Zhu Yuanzhang and Early Ming Legislation,* 1995, and Romeyn Taylor, "Official Religion in the Ming", in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty,* 1369-1644, Part 2, (eds.) Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, 1998, pp. 849-876.

124 *Siku Quanshu,* vol. 649: Xu yimeng, *Ming Jili, juan* 7, p. 181. My translation. All translations are mine except where specified.

Taizu to the throne (961), Ni Chongyi 聶崇義 dedicated a collection of *Sanlitu* 三禮圖 (Pictures Concerning Three Rites) to the Emperor.[125]

Thus, I assume that early Song ritual texts were referred to in editing *Da Ming Jili* at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. However, as can be seen in the case of *dou*, although explanations of the shapes and uses of each vessel were based upon *Sanlitu*, the actual comparison with *Da Ming Jili* and *Sanlitu* shows that the illustrations of vessels are very different. While *Sanlitu* illustrates a *dou* made of wood, *Da Ming Jili* demonstrates that, in many case, the shapes and decorations of vessels listed were very similar to extant ancient bronzes as we can see in museums. Thus, it is apparent that many vessels illustarated in *Da Ming Jili* were modelled upon extant ancient vessels. Among these examples is also *deng* 登 (container for soup). As *Da Ming Jili* states:

> *Deng* is a large container for soup. [Those made of] wood are called *dou*, [those made of] bamboo are called *bian* while [those made of] earthenware are called *deng*. [All these] three *dou* do not have particular differences in their specification. In the later period, [in manufacturing *dou*] copper was used...[126]

In this way, in *Da Ming Jili*, there are many examples whose references were taken from *Sanlitu* or the classics. The diagram in *Da Ming Jili*, however, is different from that in *Sanlitu* or other texts and was evidently modelled upon actual bronze vessels, which is fairly confusing.

Some vessels, for example, *fu* 簠 (container for grain), however, refer to *Xuanhe Bogutu* 宣和博古圖 (Illustration of Antiques Preserved at Xuanhe Pavillion[127]).

> According to *Bogutu*, the outside of *fu* is a square, [while] the inside, [forms] a circular hole...[this type of vessel] used to carved from wood. Those with a lid in the shape of a turtle are false. In the later period, they were made of copper.[128]

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125 *Song Shi juan* 51 p, 2421.

126 *Siku Quanshu*, vol. 649, p. 182.

127 In the preface to the modified version of *Xuanhe Bogutu*, the date of the text and title are discussed. Although different assumptions on the date of the publication have been made, it is highly likely to have been during the Daguan period, and the title *Xuanhe* came from the name of the pavilion where all the vessels were collected. *Siku Quanshu*, vol. 840, pp. 371-372.

128 *Siku Quanshu*, vol. 649, p. 183.

The illustration of *fu* in this text was modelled upon an actual bronze vessel. The statement also shows that several different opinions have been put forward as to the shape and surface decoration of *fu*. In relation to this, however, it is important to pay attention to a section from *Xuanhe Bogutu*, which introduces an argument concerned with *dou* 豆 used in *zongmiao*:

> Considering [the diagram on] the right hand side, despite previous scholarly works on rites which suggested that [vessels] made of wood were *dou*, those made of bamboo were *bian* and those of earthenware were *deng*, we now discover that *dou* were actually made of copper. We are aware that in many cases, the details of ritual studies were derived from the conjectures of the Han scholars; however, when the ancient people manufactured sacrificial wares [used in *zongmiao*] they already used copper...[129]

According to this passage, while the diagrams of most ancient dynasty ritual vessels included in *Xuanhe Bogutu* show them as pieces of metalwork, the rites scholars of the Han dynasty actually stated that wares used in *zongmiao* ancestral ceremonies during the ancient dynasties were of earthenware or wood. The editor of *Xuanhe Bogutu* highlighted this discrepancy. He concluded that the accounts of several texts which stated that a number of ritual wares employed in *zongmiao* were made of pottery or wood were incorrect, and that this was the result of a misunderstanding of Han dynasty Confucian scholars.

In order to clarify this complex situation, the section on sacrificial rites in *Song Shi* 宋史 appears significant. It states that:

> In the early period [of the Daguan 大觀 era (1107-1110)], the *yiliju* 議禮局 (Office for the Consideration of Rites) was established [within the government]. The Emperor passed an edict to collect the old [ritual] vessels from all over the country, and [using those gathered vessels as models], to correct the designs of wine jars, wine cups, pots, wine vessels and wares of this sort... After then *yiliju* 禮制局 (Office of Codifying Rites) located at *Bianleiyubisuo* 編類御筆所 (Imperial Editing Chamber). At that time, ritual vessels used in *jiaosi* (Ceremonies Performed at Altars Placed at the Four Cardinal Directions of the Suburbs) and in *zongmiao* were

129 *Siku Quanshu*, vol. 840: Wang fu, *Chongxiu Xuanhe Bogutu juan* 80, p. 767.

significantly altered from those used earlier..."[130]

It should also be noted that at the beginning of the Song dynasty, an Office for the Consideration of Rites was established, and state rites for the new dynasty began to be devised. *Song Shi* records frequent modifications to rites throughout the Song dynasty.[131] That changes to rites made at the beginning of the Song dynasty is extremely significant. The alterations that occurred during the Daguan period mentioned above should be understood in this context. It must be one example of the process of ritual modification. Although the modification of rites occurred frequently throughout the Song dynasty, this particular alteration appears to be the most significant in scope.

According to the preface of the modified version of *Xuanhe Bogutu* states, it is not certain whether this text was published during the Daguan or Xuanhe (1119-1125) era.[132] However, in either case, it is almost certain that the editor's critical remarks and the modifications to ritual vessels that were made during the Daguan period are closely connected. It is highly likely that the illustrations of vessels in *Xuanhe Bogutu* were those actually collected during the Daguan period. Since this is not the topic of the present dissertation, further elaboration of this point will not be pursued. What is clear, however, is that up to the time when *Xuanhe Bogutu* was edited, several types of ritual vessel system developed. It is important that we should recognise that, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, references to *Da Ming Jili* were taken either from *Xuanhe Bogutu*, or from actual ancient bronze ceremonial vessels.

I assume that an understanding of this difference in attitude towards ritual vessels during the Song dynasty could be obtained from knowledge of the background of the evolution of Confucianism itself. As is well-known, changes in rites throughout the Chinese dynasties owe a great deal to the evolution of Confucian scholarship. During the Song dynasty, in the process of administrative reforms led by scholar-officials, particularly from the Qingli period 慶歷 (1041-1048)

130 *Song Shi; juan* 98, p. 2423.
131 See *Song Shi, juan* 98, pp. 2421-2424.
132 *Siku Quanshu*, vol. 840, pp. 371-372.

of the reign of Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023-1063) onwards, the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism emerged.[133] This brought with it revolutionary changes in the old approach to classics. The Song Neo-Confucianists rejected philological approaches such as the 'notes and commentaries' of the Han and Tang scholars. Their view ultimately encouraged a more empirical and analytical approach to the research of ancient social systems, including rites. In order to eliminate long-established discrepancies and to discover the exact facts about the Zhou dynasty, Neo-Confucian scholars analytically examined inscriptions on old ritual vessels and some epitaphs in order to collect information on ancient societies. In this process, facts concerning sacrificial ceremonies and their vessels, an important element of debates on the Zhou dynasty system, were also revealed. It is in this context that we should note the significance of a series of changes to rites made at the beginning of the Song dynasty.[134]

It seems that the early Ming officials involved in editing the section on ritual vessels in *Da Ming Jili* substantially adopted the Song ceremonial vessel system modified after the Daguan period as models.

However, as stated above, in constructing rites and rituals of the Ming dynasty, those of Han and Tang were widely referred as well as those of Song. In fact, in devising ritual vessels, Ming officials also referred to ritual texts written in a philological way to a certain extent. Such examples are found, for instance, in *niaoyi* 鳥彝 (a type of wine vessel decorated with birds), *jiayi* 斚彝 (a type of wine vessel made of jade).[135]).[135] They were modelled upon similar vessels illustrated in *Sanlitu* from the Song dynasty.[136] Whether or not they actually adhere to rites based upon Neo-Confucian empiricism, this is a fairly natural development. This is because the early Ming court probably had greater access to textual materials and information on Song rites

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133 Concerning the relationship between Confucian idealism and power structure involved in this major event, refer to James T.C. Liu, "An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-Yen," in *Chinese Thought & Institutions*, pp. 105-131.

134 Research for this section was conducted during my textual survey from late 1992 to 1995, the detailed results of which, along with those concerning Daguan ritual modifications, will be independently presented in the near future.

135 *Siku Quanshu*, v. 649, pp. 196-197.

136 *Siku Quanshu*, v. 129, pp. 200-202.

involving Neo-Confucian empiricism.

In any case, what we can learn from the above analysis is that vessels for use in state ceremonies could not be arbitrarily designed. Various interpretations of ancient ritual vessels were put forward over time. These probably eventually resulted in the development of a number of different ritual vessel systems. At the Ming imperial court, the Neo-Confucian empirical approach was substantially adopted while a few texts written using a philological approach were also consulted.

Although this shows the general attitude towards the establishment of state ceremonies in the early Ming dynasty, the following records give several different indications. It appears that in conducting the ceremonies for his own ancestors, the Hongwu Emperor seems to have taken a sort of dual approach. *Ming Huiyao* 明會要 states, in the section on *zongmiao*, that:

> In the first month of the first year of the Hongwu reign (1368), sacrificial wares [for use in the *zongmiao*] were manufactured. Taizu 太祖 (the first Emperor) said, 'In recent times [people] adhere to the old traditions, preferring to use [vessels] such as old *bian* and *dou*. In [conducting] sacrificial ceremonies for their ancestors, [they] prefer to use these [wares]. [Although people] have not used such [wares] during [their own] lifetime, [they] use [them] after [they] die; [About this,] there is nothing to say! [Thus,] in making wares and garments for use in the *zongmiao*, let them be similar to those used for living people'. Upon this [edict], silver wares were manufactured and gilded. 8 wine jars and cups, and 240 red lacquered plates and bowls... Later, [the Emperor] again decreed: 'prepare gold wares to replace [the gilt silver wares].'"[137]

A similar record is listed in *Ming Shi*.[138] The information given in *Da Ming Jili*, and *Ming Huiyao* and *Ming Shi* is ambiguous. The evident limits of the historical data make it difficult to define the exact situation, but it is at least possible to propose, based upon the literary sources mentioned, that both pure gold wares in the contemporary style and bronze sacrificial wares in the traditional style were used in various types of ceremonies held in the *zongmiao* around 1367.

The 1369 edict recorded in *Da Ming Huidian* which ordered that all

137 *Ming Huiyao*, p. 128.
138 *Ming Shi, juan* 51 p. 574.

vessels used in sacrifices should be made of porcelain, does not give any further details. Thus, it is impossible to know whether the "sacrificial wares" mentioned in the record also included those for use in the *zongmiao*. An important record to be noted is one from *Da Ming Jili* published in 1370 which states that gold vessels were being used at *jianxin* 薦新 (offerings of seasonal food) held at Fengxiandian.[139] This record shows that vessels for use in this type of imperial shrine were excluded from the application of the edict. Therefore, there is no evidence that sacrificial wares used in the *zongmiao* were entirely replaced with porcelain in 1370.

Fortunately, accurate information on the usage of white porcelain wares in the *zongmiao* is available elsewhere. *Ming Shi* describes the materials with which certain ritual vessels were made, in case where they were different from the materials traditionally used for such vessels. According to this, in seasonal ceremonies carried out in the *zongmiao* from the first year of the reign of the Emperor Hongwu, 16 traditional sacrificial vessel *jue* made of porcelain were used along with golden *jue*. In the Hongzhi reign (1488-1505), the total number of porcelain *jue* used increased to 34 for the seasonal ceremonies held in *zongmiao*. On the other hand, the *heji* 祫祭 (Ceremonies jointly offered to the Imperial Ancestors) carried out in the *zongmiao* resulted in four more porcelain *jue* being added.[140] Since the majority of vessels excavated from the sites are plain bowls and dishes, and the *jue* type of vessel accounts for only a small percentage of excavated vessels, it is clear that only a limited number of porcelain vessels were used in the *zongmiao*.

139 *Da Ming Jili, juan* 5, p. 164.
140 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 540.

Chapter 3

Ceremonial vessels for use in *jiaosi* 郊祀 (State ceremonies performed at altars placed at the four cardinal directions of the suburbs)

In order to understand the sacrificial wares manufactured for use in *jiaosi*, we need to pay special attention to the history of changes in *jiaosi* rituals. Throughout Chinese ritual history, the *jiaosi* had been one of the most controversial state rites, in regard to the numbers and types of gods to be worshipped, and the sites at which the ceremonies were to be performed. Debates resulted in frequent alterations to the forms of *jiaosi*.

In the first year of Hongwu reign (1368), Li Shanzhang 李善長 and other government officials specified the rites of *jiaosi*. As to the times and places of the ceremonies, referring to the *Dasili* 大祀禮 section of the *Zhouli*, they suggested that *jiaosi* should be offered to Heaven in the southern suburbs of the capital at the summer solstice, and to Earth in the northern suburbs of the capital at the winter solstice.[141] Thus, at the very beginning of the Ming dynasty, sacrificial ceremonies for Heaven and for Earth were separately conducted in southern and northern suburbs, with a form of *fensi* 分祀 (discrete sacrifice). However, in 1377, the Emperor decided to conduct the sacrifices for both Heaven and Earth together at the *yuanqiu* in the southern suburbs of the capital. Thus, the Emperor issued an edict to build a temple named *Dasidian* 大祀殿 (Great Temple) there.[142] The altars to the Sun and Moon had been established in 1370 but were abolished in the twenty-first year of the same reign (1388).[143]

However, the *jiaosi* ceremonies were again altered in the ninth year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1530) when the altars in the four suburbs of

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141 *Ming Shi, juan* 48, p. 545.
142 *Ming Shi, juan* 48, p. 545.
143 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 538.

the capital were restored, and *jiaosi* were once more held separately in the form of *fensi*.[144] We should then ask what kind of sacrificial wares were first used for *jiaosi*.

Ming Huiyao records events in detail. In the section on the *jiaosi* ceremonies, it states:

> "On the *guichou* 癸丑 day of the eighth month of the *wu* original year (1367) the *huanqiu* [for the sacrificial ceremonies to Heaven] was constructed. On the wu 午 day of the eleventh month, Taizu for the first time inspected the circular mound. He turned and asked the Qijuzhu 起居注 (official attendant upon the Emperor)[145] Taiding 熊鼎 and others, 'Does this correspond to the old [ritual] system or not?' They answered, 'There are small differences.' The Emperor said, '[When] ancient people were at the *jiao* ceremonies, [after they] swept the ground, [they] conducted sacrificial ceremonies, and used pottery and gourds [as the sacrificial wares] - it sets an example of frugality. In the Zhou dynasty, there was the *mingtang*; [thus,] the rites were for the first time complete. At this point, I have set up this altar: although [this system] cannot completely correspond to the old system, nevertheless, [I] only think of serving Heaven with [my] utmost sincerity; [I] dare not neglect [this] even for a minute'."[146]...

Ming Huiyao continues :

In this text, the event is documented under the category of *jiaosi*. It thus becomes clear that sacrificial wares made of porcelain were actually designed for *jiaosi* ceremonies. Another important source on this topic is the *Ming Shi*, which records that in 1370, the Department of Rites reported the following:

> "According to the *Liji jiaotesheng*, at *jiaosi*, vessels made of pottery or gourds are used, as the materials of preference. The *Zhoulibianren* 周禮籩人 (section of *Zhouli* which records the function of the official post in charge of *bian*) states that in sacrificial ceremonies, offerings [of food] are made with *fu* and *gui* (containers for use in sacrificial ceremonies). The commentary states that, in the outdoor sacrificial ceremonies, pottery *fu* are used. Today for the sacrificial wares we use porcelain. This accords with ancient thought..."[147]

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144 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 538.
145 See Mochizuki 37048. 34.
146 *Ming Huiyao, juan* 7, p. 90.
147 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 542.

Since the Department of Rites illustrated the ancient example of the *jiaosi* by quoting from *Liji* and *Zhouli*, it is very likely that the sacrificial wares under discussion were those used in the *jiaosi* ceremonies.[148] The fact that ceremonial vessels for use in *jiaosi* were made of pottery corresponds to the interpretation of Zhou rites laid down in *Tongdian* during the Tang dynasty (618-906). During the Song dynasty, the fact that the raw material for *jiaosi* ceremonial vessels was pottery is also clear.

Tongdian includes a description of vessel designs used in *jiaosi* ceremonies. Before turning to this description, it should again be noted that the Tang dynasty reconstruction of the *wuli* was criticised by Neo-Confucianists of the Song period, eventually resulting in fundamental changes to certain aspects of the rites. The criticisms were directed, in particular, at the interpretation of the rituals of Heaven and Earth. In the *Zhouli*, there was no section dealing exclusively with *jiaosi*. There were, however, a few passages regarding the sacrificial ceremonies for Heaven and Earth. Although different terms were presented, such as, *yuanqiu* 圓丘, *taitan* 太壇 (a large altar), *sijiao*, *fangqiu*, no explanation was offered as to the relationship between these terms. Whether they indicated specific individual ceremonies became a subject of great debate among later scholars. As a result of this controversy, we can say that the types of sacrificial ceremony included in *jiaosi* varied throughout history.[149]

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148 At first glance, it appears that suggestions to make sacrificial wares with porcelain, compiled in *Ming Shi* and *Ming Huiyao*, seem to have been made by different people or organizations. *Ming Shi* records it as a message from the Department of Rites, whereas, *Ming Huiyao* states it as an appeal from Cui Liang 崔亮. On a closer examination we find that Cui Liang did, in fact, work for the Department of Rites and that he is the person who led the reconstruction of the rites of *Dasi* 大祀 (Great Sacrifice) which include the *jiaosi* as recorded in *Cui Liang Fu* (Biography of Cui Liang) compiled in *Ming Huiyao*. In addition, what is included in *Ming Huiyao* actually concerns the process of reconstructing the details of rituals and associated practices. When Cui made his suggestion to the Emperor he was accompanying him in the performance of the ceremony on that day, explaining and making proposals on the details of the ritual. Thus, Cui must already have been appointed to the Department of Rites. It is very likely that these two records describe the same event. The only difference between them is the date of the suggestion. *Ming Huiyao* records that the proposal was made in the second year of the Hongwu reign (1369), while *Ming Shi* records it as the third year of the same reign (1370).

149 See *Song Shi*, *juan* 99, p. 2435-2438; *Ming Shi*, *juan* 8, p. 545.

Although there were discrepancies and inaccuracies in the reconstruction of Zhou rites even during the Tang dynasty, this makes the Tang reconstruction even more important. It is very important to understand them as they will give us an insight into the Tang rites themselves which were largely based upon the Tang version of the Zhou rites. In addition, although discrepancies were noted in regard to the names of each of the ceremonies, as well as for whom and where they were held, there has never been a conflict between the classic texts and Tang rites as regards the types of materials used in manufacturing ceremonial wares for *jiaosi* ceremonies.

The ceremonies devoted to Heaven and Earth recorded in *Zhouli* were interpreted as follows. In *Dasile* 大司樂 (section of *Zhouli* which introduces the duties of the chief of official bands)[150] it is stated:

> "In the winter solstice, a sacrificial ceremony for Heaven and Earth is carried out on round, raised ground." [*Erya* 爾雅 describes, 'the round raised ground is not artificially constructed'.] *Dazongbaizhi* 大宗伯職 (section of *Zhouli* which introduces the official post, *Dazongbai* in charge of music)[151] states, "by raising smoke, a sacrificial rite is dedicated to the *haotianshangdi* 昊天上帝 (the Lord - on - high) ..."

The text then elaborates on the process of worship, sacrifice and the ceremonial devices used:

> "The jade dedicated to the god is the one coloured sky blue. The colour of the sacrifice and *bibo* 幣帛 (coins and silk to be dedicated) imitates that of jade. [*Dazongbaizhi* states that, 'a jade coloured sky blue is used when performing the ritual ceremony for Heaven.'] It also notes that its length is one *chi* 尺 and [it is] not decorated. In the following, it is also mentioned that the colour of the sacrifice and *bibo* depend on that of the vessel. The vessel indicates the jade... [the sky blue colour] is adopted mainly in order to represent the colour of heaven...] The wine jars and vessels for serving fried foods and pickled fishes are also earthenwares. As for a *jue*, a calabash is used. In [the section of] *Jiaotesheng*, it is stated, '... earthenwares and calabashes are used to represent the nature of heaven and earth....'"[152]

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150 *Dai Kanwa jiten*, 5831.925

151 *Dai Kanwa jiten* Vol. 3, p. 2697: 5831:1459.

152 *Tongdian, juan* 42, pp. 1162-1167.

As stated previously, in ceremonies dedicated to Heaven and Earth most of the sacrificial vessels used were pottery. However, *Song Shi* states that at that time ritual vessels used in *jiaosi,* as well as in *zongmiao,* were altered on a large scale. It is, thus, necessary to understand what changes were made to those wares.

A record from *Song Shi* in the Shaoxing reign (1131-1162) notes that:

> "In the fourth year of the Shaoxing 紹興 reign of Emperor Gaozong (1134), Wang Pu 王普, the Kanxiang 看詳 (an official title) of the Taichangsi 太常寺 (Grand Councilors who supervised the central government), and Secretary of Guozijian 國子監 (Directory of Education) pointed out eleven inconsistencies in *mingtang* ceremonies as follows: 'the first is that it is said that [in the rites] pottery and gourds are to be used in *jiaosi* ceremonies, and jade libation cups, in those of *mingtang.* But now that in the *mingtang* [ceremonies] in fact *jiaosi* rites are employed, pottery gourds should be used...' "[153]

The above record shows that Wang Pu pointed out that pottery vessels should be used in *mingtang* ceremonies in accordance with *jiaosi* rites. Therefore, we can assume that during this period, pottery vessels still constituted the material for ceremonial vessels used in *jiaosi,* as was the case with the Tang dynasty.

We saw above that porcelain vessels was used at the *jiaosi* ceremonies at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The above record suggests that *jiaosi* ceremonies of the early Ming dynasty continued the ritual principles confirmed in the Song dynasty. On the evidence of such records, it is certain that porcelain vessels were employed in suburban sacrificial ceremonies at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. It then remains to be established which shapes were employed in the *jiaosi* ceremonies.

Da Ming Huidian records that an edict issued in the ninth year of the Jiajing reign (1530) ordered the manufacture of sacrificial vessels for the ceremonies in the suburbs. It lists: one bowl for the *taigeng* 太羹 (a thick meat soup without seasoning); two bowls for the *hegeng* 和羹 (a thick meat soup with salt and sauce); three *pan* 盤 (plates or dishes) for the sacrificial bull; one *jiuzun* 酒尊 (a type of wine jar for

153 *Song Shi, juan,* 101, p. 2478.

use in sacrificial ceremonies); one *xizun* 犧尊 (a type of wine jar for use in sacrificial ceremonies); one *shanlei* 山罍 (a type of sacrificial wine jar for use in sacrificial ceremonies); twenty-eight porcelain plates to replace the *fu, gui, bian* and *dou;* one porcelain *jue* for the libation ritual; and forty wine *zhong* (cups) 鐘.[154]

Lau assumes that the sacrificial wares used from the Hongwu reign in state ceremonies at the *jiaosi* were plain bowls and pottery dishes or plates. As grounds for such an assumption, she firstly notes the edict of the Hongwu Emperor to make sacrificial vessels using porcelain. Secondly, she states that, according to the *Hongwu Lizhi* (Hongwu Codes) 洪武禮制[155] compiled in *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (Completed Libraries in the Four Catalogues Preserved in Yanyuange Pavilion), bronze shapes were replaced by more common ceramic shapes such as plates or dishes. She continues by noting that *Hongwu Lizhi* further lists all the porcelain ceremonial vessels used in offering sacrifices to the God of State at a local level. The list includes: porcelain plates or dishes 瓷 石葉 (*shidie*) of two sizes used to replace *bian,, dou, fu,* and *gui* 簋 (in the case of *fu* and *gui,* the plates or dishes were larger); three *jiuzun* (wine jars) made of porcelain; six *jue* also made of porcelain; and one *xing* replaced by a porcelain bowl.[156] In addition, Lau refers to the illustrations found in *Da Ming Huidian* depicting ceremonial food, as well as objects displayed in state sacrifices.[157] However, in my view, a much more detailed examination of the historical material is required. It should be noted that the sacrificial wares discussed in the record of *Hongwu Lizhi* are the case of *hesi shenqi* 合祀神祇 (sacrificial ceremonies jointly offered to various gods).

Diagrams compiled in *Da Ming Huidian* describe all sacrificial wares as plain plates or dishes and bowls, but this edition of *Da Ming Huidian,* which also includes the edict of the Jiajing Emperor, was published in 1587. During the Jiajing (1522-66) reign, a major alteration in rites occurred, which probably influenced the choice of ritual instruments

154 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 201, p. 2715.
155 According to *Ming Shi, Hongwu Liji* was one of the sixteen books writen on the subject of rituals established during the Hongwu period.
156 Lau, 1993, p. 92; *Siku Quanshu,* vol. 617, p. 811.
157 Lau, pp. 90-92, fig. 2.

employed in the ceremonies. In particular, in 1530, there had been an order to replace sacrificial wares in *jiaosi* ceremonies with plain bowls and dishes.[158] The 1587 edition of *Da Ming Huidian* records both the ritual details codified during the reign of Hongwu and those altered in 1530. Comparing the details of the types and numbers of sacrificial wares employed in the *jiaosi* after the 1530 revision, with the diagram illustrated in *Da Ming Huidian*, we can find that these diagrams themselves were compiled after the revision.[159] Therefore, there is not enough evidence to indicate that, from the Hongwu reign onwards, sacrificial wares for use in state-level *jiaosi* were made according to the shapes of plain plates, dishes and bowls.

Can we find any relevant records prior to this period? At this point, we need to return to the 1367 records in Ming *Huiyao* and *Ming Shi*. *Ming Huiyao*, in the section on *jiaosi*, continues:

> " '... however, these sorts of plates or dishes [are] rather different from the old [tradition]. [They] should be replaced with porcelain wares, and only in [making] *bian*, is bamboo to be used.' [The Emperor decreed that] this proposal be carried out".[160]

We can see from this that around this time, dishes were being used in the *jiaosi*. However, the contents are ambiguous. It is not clear whether only a few dishes were used or whether most sacrificial wares of *fu*, *fui*, *deng* and *dou* were made in the shape of plates. The following, however, provides an important clue, enabling us to picture the types of sacrificial wares used during the early Ming period. The appeal from the Department of Rites, compiled in Cui Liang's biography in *Ming Shi*, continues:

> "however only the *pan* and *yu* are different from traditional ancient *fu*, *gui*, *deng* and *xing*. Following [the example] that porcelain wares are now being used in sacrificial ceremonies, [according to the ancient people's thought]; let the styles [of porcelain wares also] be modelled on traditional *fu*, *gui*, *deng* and *dou*, and let only the *bian* be made of bamboo. [The Emperor] ordered [his officials] to follow this [proposal]."[161]

Thus, we can see that the Department of Rites issued instructions to follow the designs of traditional sacrificial wares. Despite claims that

158 *Da Ming Huidian*, *juan* 201, p. 2715.
159 Lau, pp. 91-92, fig. 2.
160 *Ming Huiyao*, *juan* 7, pp. 90-91.
161 *Ming Shi*, *juan* 47, p. 542.

Zhu Yuanzhang was restoring the ancient past, at the very beginning he in fact followed Yuan practice closely.[162] However, as seen above, soon after, he was advised by his officials to follow ancient Chinese model. Therefore, it appears that, although vessels following types made for ordinary use were employed at the time this proposal was made, sacrificial wares in the shape of traditional *bian, dou, fui, gui* and *deng* types were afterwards used in the *jiaosi* at the state level.

Da Ming Jili, completed in 1370, compiles diagrams of *jiaosi* sacrificial wares, including *bian, dou, xing* 鉶(a type of vessels containing soup), *geng* and others. On such evidence, we can say that there is a high probability that, from around the early Hongwu reign onwards, sacrificial wares of such a traditional type were being employed in *jiaosi.* However, while the construction of the whole system of rites was completed at the very beginning, minor modifications were continuously made during the Hongwu period and throughout the succeeding reigns. Taking this into account, solely based on the sentences in *Ming Shi* and *Da Ming Jili,* it is difficult to piece together an adequate picture of the whole situation for the entire early Ming period.

At this point, it is necessary to refer again to *Ming Shi,* since another part of the text also records alterations to the types of sacrificial ware used during the period concerned. It states that in 1374, *jiuzun* 酒尊 (wine jars) were additionally employed as vessels in the *congsi* 從祀 (subordinate sacrificial ceremonies for Heaven and Earth). It continues by revealing that in 1377, a number of *jiuzhan* 酒盞 (wine cups) began to be used on altars to minor gods; namely, *taisui* (time) 太歲 and *fengyun leiyu* 風雲雷雨 (wind, cloud, thunderbolt and rain spirits) in the *heji.* Following this, in 1388, another 30 wine cups were additionally placed on altars for other gods.[163]

Thus, prior to 1374, traditional sacrificial wares of *xizun, zhuzun,* and *xiangzun* forms were used in *jiaosi.* Later, wine jars of a contemporary form were used instead. From 1377, a number of wine cups and, again, from 1388, more wares, of similar forms were

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162 Farmer, 1995, p. 35; Langlois, 1981, p. 177; Dardess, 1970, pp. 194-6.
163 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, pp. 539-540.

employed in *jiaosi* at the state level but only in ceremonies of minor importance. The wine jars which replaced the traditional wine jars most likely took an ordinary, contemporary form. A similar assumption is possible for the wine cups. Yet, the major ceremonial vessels employed remained of a traditional type. Furthermore, all of these must have been made of porcelain, according to the rule that sacrificial wares for Heaven and Earth had to be pottery.

The analysis of rites carried out in this section, then, establishes a number of points. First of all, the most important fact which can be noted is the rigid ritual framework which governed the variety of ceremonial vessels used at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. While the Hongwu Emperor inclined to more contemporary styles in ceremonies and also wanted more frequent and lavish services for his own ancestors, such ancestral ceremonies served not only to meet the obligations of filial piety but also to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Emperors themselves. Ancestral ceremonies were not only conducted on specified occasions but also in the enthroning ceremonies to report to the imperial ancestors, the death of the Emperor and the enthronement of his successor. Therefore, regardless of the Emperor's wishes and of any ensuing modifications, the framework remained without deviation from tradition, with constant advice from officials for constructing the ritual systems. Thus, the ceremonies could not be entirely at variance with those of Tang and Song. The second significant point is the amalgamation of the Tang and Song traditions and some elements of contemporary customs in certain ceremonies in accordance with the Hongwu Emperor's will. This actually provided the foundation of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Ming dynasty.

PART II

EARLY MING VESSELS FOR USE IN IMPERIAL SACRIFICIAL CEREMONIES INCORPORATED INTO THE STATE RITUAL FRAMEWORK IN LATER PERIODS

Although as we saw in Part I, white porcelain vessels of *jue* and *dou* types were used in state sacrificial ceremonies, the majority of vessels excavated at the Zhushan imperial kiln factory at Jingdezhen were bowls and dishes. Further, a group of mainly white porcelain vessels which resemble West Asian metalwork have been found along with some monochrome wares of other colours. Up to the present time, these ware-shapes were regarded as having been either influenced by Islamic tastes or made for export purposes to Islamic states. Liu also recently presented the same view.[164] Each of these types of vessel are also present in underglaze blue wares. One of the aims of this dissertation is to show that a great proportion of underglaze blue wares for use at the early Ming imperial court originated in Buddhist rites. In order to do this, I intend to prove that a large proportion of white porcelain vessels were manufactured in accordance with Buddhist rites.

As will be detailed below, textual sources briefly mentions that white porcelain vessels were used at the Emperor's table and Fengxiandian. This chapter will prove that white porcelain vessels were, in fact, regularly demanded for a great number of ceremonies, such as offering meals every morning and evening, on the first and fifteenth days of every month, seasonal festive days specified in religions practised inside the court as well as in Classics, birthdays, anniversaries held at Fengxiandian and other ceremonies of equivalent nature and rank. Thus, large numbers of this type of vessels were so consumed.

The total number of white porcelain sherds excavated at the sites assigned to the Yongle and Xuande periods is enormous. Although, apart from sacrificial wares, some vessels for Emperors were manufactured using white porcelain, if such huge number of vessels were required in Fengxiandian, it is evident that a large proportion of those white porcelain wares were produced for Fengxiandian. However, most vessels consist of bowls and dishes which do not look like traditional sacrificial ceremonial types, such as *dou* and *deng* shapes. This chapter will also show that Fengxiandian required items which took the form of daily vessels, such as bowls and dishes, in terms of its own rites. How, then, can we explain those flasks, bottles and

164) Liu, 1996, pp. 39-40

ewers, the so called Islamic ware shapes, which did not often take place amongst daily vessels? In relation to this, it will be suggested that Buddhist and Buddhist-style ceremonies were held at Fengxiandian and other ancestral ceremonies of equivalent rank inside the court and outside the court sponsored by the imperial family; and accordingly, ceremonial vessels for this purpose must have been required.

In addition to this, it is also likely that white porcelain vessels were used at banquet tables after the sacrificial ceremonies for the imperial ancestors held at Fengxiandian and inside the court, at monasteries sponsored by the court on festive days, and attendants for the mourning ceremonies for the imperial ancestors held at Fengxiandian and elsewhere sponsored by the court. Yet, such vessels still must have been made and used in a similar context of religions and rites to those used at Fengxiandian. As will be detailed in the following section, however, white porcelain wares were made exclusively for Fengxiandian, and for Emperors and Empresses. White porcelain vessels must therefore have been used by Emperors and Empresses and, in a very limited number of occasions, even in banquets.

During the Ming dynasty, apart from ceremonies specified in the Classics, other types of religious ceremony were also held. However, in relation to the specific topic of the dissertation, to begin with, the most important ceremony to examine is *yuanmiao* 原廟 (literally, original ancestral shrine; shrines where ancestral portraits were preserved and where the spirits were worshipped). The reason why I single out *yuanmiao* to begin, is that there is no specific record as to exactly what types of vessel were employed in such ceremonies. In the case of *yuanmiao* ancestral ceremonies, however, historical records shows that white porcelain vessels were employed. By exploring these ceremonies, we can obtain further knowledge on the occasions which would require same type of vessels. As noted above, most of the shapes and decorative designs of white porcelain vessels are commonly found in underglaze blue wares. Thus, it is enormously helpful to use information on *yuanmiao* ancestral vessels in this context.

To understand the system of *yuanmiao* shrines at the early Ming imperial court, it is first necessary to trace similar systems in previous

dynasties. By analysing the ceremonies held at *yuanmiao* ancestral shrines in their historical context, I intend to show: first of all, that vessels used were of a contemporary style, as used at the tables of the deceased emperor when he was alive; secondly religious style elements were largely involved in this type of ceremony. Consequently, vessels specifically for use in religious style ceremonies as well as a large number of contemporary style vessels were required. Daoist style ceremonies were probably also held at these shrines. Although there were considerable interaction between Daoist ceremonial elements and those of Buddhism over time, Buddhism was the most important religion at the beginning of the Ming dynasty in relation to imperial ancestral ceremonies. We consequently focus on Buddhist elements in this dissertation.

In Part II, therefore, my aim is to explore features of the ceremonies conducted at *yuanmiao* ancestral shrines. I will propose a theory that the major sources of the demand for both white and underglaze blue wares were Buddhist, and Buddhist-style ancestral ceremonies including those for mourning in Buddhist context.

Chapter 4

Historical background to the *yuanmiao* ancestral shrine

Among ancestral ceremonies held by the imperial court, but not specified in the Classics, the most important during the early Ming dynasty are those conducted at Fengxiandian. Concerning the function of the Fengxiandian, *Da Ming Huidian* states:

> "In the winter in the third year of the reign of the Hongwu Emperor, since it was not thought [in Taizu's mind] enough to express [his] filial piety with seasonal ceremonies held at *taimiao*, Fengxiandian was built independently at the Qianqinggong 乾清宮. Incense was burnt morning and evening daily. On the first and fifteenth days of the month, the spirits were worshipped. Newly produced [seasonal] food was dedicated on *shijie* 時節 (the twenty-four divisions of the year in the lunar calendar). Ceremonies were conducted on the birthday and death anniversaries, using *changzhuan* 常饌 (dishes similar to those consumed in everyday life, i.e. contemporary food) in accordance with *jiarenli* 家人禮 (private family rites). After relocation of the capital during the reign of Yongle, the shrine was built as it was in Nanjing.[165]

In tracing the types of sacrificial wares produced for use in the Fengxiandian, it is important to know the original aim of the establishment of shrines of this type over time.

4. 1 Origin of the *yuanmiao* ancestral shrine

Concerning the direct background for the establishment of *yuanmiao*, which became a model for Fengxiandian, it is essential to examine the rites, in particular, the ancestral shrine system of the earlier period. As noted in numerous later textual sources, including *Tongdian*, ceremonies conducted on a single day in each season at *zongmiao* were believed to have been specified for ancestors as seasonal ceremonies during the three ancient dynasties.[166] In the case of the Song

165 *Da Ming Huidian juan* 89, p. 1411.

dynasty, ceremonies were held at *zongmiao* in the first month of each season and in the last month of winter.[167] However, as will be seen in the following analysis, textual analysis shows how various types of ancestral ritual not specified in rites, but widely conducted in places such as imperial tombs, monasteries and private palaces, came to be systematised under the title of *Shenyudian* 神御殿 (literally, shrines where royal portraits were worshipped; this general term for the royal ancestral shrines built inside the court during the Northern Song dynasty, eventually became a title for ancestral shrines built inside the Southern Song court) and were incorporated into the framework of State rites during the Song dynasty.

Song Shi notes that this type of shrine was derived from the *yuanmiao* shrine of the Han dynasty.[168] According to *Tongdian*, from the Qin 秦 dynasty (221-210 B.C.) to the Han period, it was customary to build shrines in the precincts of imperial tombs containing robes and instruments of daily use by the ancestors in their lifetime.[169] During the Han dynasty, imperial ancestral shrines for the deceased father of Gaozu 高祖 (r. B.C. 206-195) were built in each state of the Empire according to Gaozu's edict. Further, upon the death of Gaozu, Huidi 惠帝 (r. B.C. 195-188) decided to establish a *yuanmiao* shrine in the precinct of the tomb of Gaozu, and honoured it by entitling it Taizumiao 太祖廟 (Shrine for Taizu or the First Emperor). After this, numerous shrines for Taizu, Taizong 太宗, and Shizong 世宗 (r. B.C. 188-184) were established throughout the country. In the capital, shrines were built at the tombs of the Emperors from Gaozu to Xuandi 宣帝 (r. B.C. 74-49), and other imperial ancestors. Within the tomb precincts, there were buildings known as *qin* 寢 (main pavilion in front of the tomb), and *piandian* 便殿 (additional pavilion built aside *qin*). Ceremonies were held daily at *qin*, monthly at *miao*, and quarterly in *piandian*. At *qin*, meals were dedicated four times daily; at *miao*, ceremonies were held twenty-five times and at *piandian*, four times annually. *Tongdian* notes the reason why ceremonies were held twenty-five times a year at *miao*. According to *Hanyi* 漢儀 (Rites of the Han Dynasty), ceremonies were held twelve times a year at

166 *Tongdian*, *juan* 49, pp. 1364-65.
167 *Song Shi*, *juan* 107, p. 2579.
168 *Song Shi*, *juan* 109, p. 2621.
169 *Tongdian*, *juan* 52, pp. 1447-48.

zongmiao, and another ceremony was conducted monthly using a cow, ram and pig. In an intercalary month, another ceremony was held in addition.[170]

Eventually, during the Tang dynasty, this custom was formally specified in Kaiyuan rites. Thus, ceremonies of food offerings, newly-produced seasonal food, and memorial services were held on *shuowang* 朔望 (first and the fifteenth day of every month), *shijie* and on the death-anniversaries of the imperial ancestors.[171]

During the Tianbao 天寶 period (742-755), there was a further edict that on the first and fifteenth day of every month, additional meals should be offered in each room in *taimiao* (*zongmiao*).[172]

This rite was altered several times. Due to criticism that this type of ancestral ceremony did not originate in the ancient rites, in the second year of the Yuanhe period (807), a minister of state eventually suggested that *dian* 奠 (meals dedicated without a full ceremony) should be left at imperial tombs, on the first and fifteenth day of every month only. He further proposed that sacrificial ceremonies on seasonal festive days and *shuowang shangshili* 朔望上食禮 (ceremonies for the offering of food on the first and fifteenth day of every month) should be performed solely at *taimiao*, and that the daily dedication of food should be carried out only at the tombs of the parents of the Emperor. Other ceremonies previously performed at the imperial tombs should also cease.[173]

In the eighth year of the Yuanfeng era (1085) of the Song dynasty, *Taichangshi* 太常寺 (Grand Councilors who supervised the central government) said that it had been customary to practise ceremonies of offering meals on the first and fifteenth day monthly at imperial tombs; after ancestral tablet had been relocated at *zongmiao*, this rites was continued [at *zongmiao*]; since, at that time, meals were being dedicated at *Shenyudian* in *Jinglinggong* 景靈宮 (literally, palace where spirits were respected; as is the case with *Shenyudian*, this general

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170 *Tongdian, juan* 47, pp. 1300-1301, p. 1325.
171 *Xin Tangshu, juan* 14, pp. 364-365.
172 *Siku quanshu.* vol. 649, p. 135.
173 *Xin Tangshu juan* 14 p. 365.

term for royal ancestral shrine buildings appears to have become the title of the palace for royal ancestral shrines built inside the Northern Song court from 1085 on the first and fifteenth day of every month), the rite practised in *zongmiao* ought, thenceforth, to be abolished.[174] This suggestion was accepted.

The information recorded in *Tongdian* and *Song Shi,* demonstrates the process through which the ceremonies dedicating food on the first and the fifteenth days of every month finally led to the rite specified for the Shenyudian spiritual shrine at Jinglinggong built inside the court.[175]

We now need to turn to the history of Jinglinggong. After the death of Taizong (Shengzu 聖祖) (r. 976-997), in the fifth year of the Dazhongxiangfu 大中祥符 (1012), his spirit was worshipped in a private palace as well as in *zongmiao.* After this, upon the death of Emperors and Empresses, spiritual shrines came to be added in the palace one after another and their portraits were preserved there. Such ancestral shrines were also placed outside the court, which were generally called *jinglinggong.*[176] *Song Shi* contains a great number of records concerning these, whether built outside the court at prviate shrines or within monasteries. For example, there were seven spiritual shrines for the first Emperor including: Kaixiandian 開先殿 (Kaixian Pavillion) at Taipingxingguosi 太平興國寺 (Taipingxingguo Monastery), Jinglinggong 景靈宮 (Jingling Palace), Xiyuan 西院 (Western Quarter) at Yingtian Chanyuan 應天禪院 (Yingtian Chan Monastery), Hongqinggong 鴻慶宮 (Hongqing Palace) in Nanking, Huishenggong 會聖宮 (Huishen Palace) at 永安縣 Yongan County, Zhangwudian 章武殿 (Zhangwu Pavilion) at Jianlongsi 建隆寺 (Jianlong Monastery) in Yangzhou 揚州, Duanmingdian 端命殿 (Duanming Pavilion) at

174 *Song Shi, juan* 108, p. 2599-2600. *Song Shi* includes a footnote stating that 今 should be 令 based upon *Song Huiyao* 宋會要, p. 2610. Thus, if this were the case, the translation should be "Please order to conduct the offerings at Jinglinggong, and let those on the first and fifteenth day monthly held at *zongmiao* thenceforth stop".

175 Yet, *Song Shi* shows that after the movement of the capital to Hangzhou, in *taimiao,* the dedication of meals was again carried out on the first and fifteenth day of every month, along with five seasonal ceremonies. *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2624. However, the focus of this section lies not in examining the evolution of the ritual system of *shuowang shangshi* ceremonies but in tracing processes in which certain ceremonies were specified into rites for use in *yuanmiao* during the Song dynasty.

176 *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2621.

Daqingsi 大慶寺 (Daqing Monastery) in Chuzhou 州.[177]

However, in the second year of the Xining 熙寧 period (1069), an official claimed that enshrining portraits of the imperial ancestors in private palaces did not correspond to the relevant rites. Thus, the Emperor ordered them to be preserved in Tianzhange 天章閣, and they were brought together in the imperial court.[178] Finally, in the fifth year of the Yuanfeng period 元豐 (1082), a new Jinglinggong building consisting of eleven shrines was constructed inside the court. The portraits of the imperial ancestors preserved in pavilions and monasteries inside the capital were then brought inside the court, and only those in the three pavilions, 萬壽觀延聖 Wanshouguanyansheng, 廣愛 Guang'ai, 寧華 Ninghua, were left undisturbed.[179]

From this, we can see that it was in 1082 that a special shrine came to exist inside the court. An edict from this year shows that there were four festive seasonal days, including *shangyuan* 上元 (fifteenth day of the first month) and *xiayuan* 下元 (fifteenth day of the tenth month). Furthermore, it was also announced that the Emperor himself would carry out the ceremonies in ordinary official robes. Robes and instruments for use in this type of shrine were of contemporary styles.[180]

What type of vessels were used at this type of shrine? The section of Shenyudian states the details of the rituals for use in ceremonies held on the first day monthly and every seasonal days at the portrait shrines of imperial ancestors in each province proposed by the Department of Rites in the first year of the Xuanhe era (1119). According to this, *yapanshi* 牙盤式 (ivory tray) were to be arranged along with a table for incense, and seasonal fruits.[181] However, *Song Shi* states that in the case of shrines for deceased concubines that offerings of meals were conducted without the use of any traditional type of sacrificial ceremonial vessel, in accordance with *jiarenli* 家人禮

177 *Song Shi, juan* 109, pp. 2624-2625.
178 *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2626.
179 *Song Shi, juan* 108, p. 2626.
180 *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2621-22.
181 *Song Shi, juan* 109, 2626-27.

(private family rites), that is to say, the manner of serving was the same as that for living people. Given this, at Shenyudian, certain types of ceremonial vessels were used along with contemporary vessels seasonal fruits containing[182]

The section on Shenyudian in *Song Shi* contains several records on the history of the *yuanmiao* ancestral shrine. After the movement of the Song capital to Hangzhou, in the fifteenth year of the Shaoxing period (1145), Shenyudian, previously titled as Qinxian xiaosidian 欽先孝思殿, was reconstructed at the east side of Chongzhengdian 崇政殿. Sacrificial ceremonies were carried out there on every seasonal festive day, on the first and the fifteenth day of every month and on the birthdays of the imperial ancestors. Emperors usually attended these ceremonies and dedicated wine. Furthermore, it is stated that in carrying out ceremonies at the shrine, using *jiarenli*, the manner of serving was the same as that for living people.[183] Therefore, we can assume that contemporary-type vessels were used at Qinxian xiaosidian after the movement of the capital to the South.

4. 2 Religious style ceremonies at *yuanmiao* during the Song dynasty

The following record, furthermore, gives an important clue to the types of vessel used in Jinglinggong after 1135. *Song Shi*, in the section of Jinglinggong, states that after the movement of the captial to Hangzhou, in the twelfth month of the thirteenth year of the era of Shaoxing (1135), according to an official's suggestion, a new shrine was built modelled upon Jinglinggong. Among the people who served in this shrine were ten Daoist monks. Seasonal festive days observed in this shrine include *shangyuan, hanshi* 寒食, *qixi* 七夕, and New Year's Day. Furthermore on the death anniversary of the Emperor and Empress, both Daoist and Buddhist ceremonies were conducted. In 1140, a Daoist shrine was also established.[184]

An important element to note here is that in this type of *yuanmiao* building, seasonal festive days derived from other religions such as

182 *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2613.
183 *Song Shi, juan* 62, pp. 2627-8.
184 *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2624.

Daoism and Buddhism were conducted. *Shangyuan* and *xiayuan*, for example, are the traditional Buddhist and Daoist seasonal festive days. The term, *shangyuan* originated in Daoism. In Buddhism, in accordance with a story that a Buddhist *arhat*, Mulian 目蓮 dedicated one hundred varieties of fruit of five different tastes to his parents on *xiayuan* day, *Yulanpenhui* 盂蘭盆會 (a type of ceremony based upon to *Ullambana sutra*)[185] was held and varieties of food were dedicated to ancestral spirits.[186] Furthermore, as noted above, imperial ancestral shrines containing portraits were placed at monasteries before they were relocated into Tianzhangge in 1069. Both Buddhist and Daoist shrines were constructed, and religious ceremonies for the death-day anniversaries of imperial ancestors were conducted there.

Secondly, if we examine this aspect more systematically, ancestral ceremonies held there must have included those conducted during the mourning period. In the history of rites, the length of the mourning period frequently provoked disputes. Although it is not our main concern in this section to discuss the length of the mourning period, it will be briefly noted in relation to the function of ancestral shrines.

According to the interpretation of Classics scholars of the later period, in the three ancient dynasties, there were occasions when sovereigns mourned their parents for a three-year period.[187] It seems that observance of this period was regarded by later scholars as was one of the most important ritual elements. Although considered as an ideal principle, in most cases, however long-term mourning was not actually practised due to the many difficulties encountered in reality. The practice of mourning was not simple. Practitioners were required to refrain from certain types of social activity. In particular, the Emperor himself, his family, relatives and subordinates, both central and local government officials and even lay people, had to wear

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185 *Ullambana sutra* was translated during the Western Jin dynasty. The *sutra* includes the story that Mulian 目連, a pupil of Buddha, dedicated rice, soup and five types of fruit to Buddha and the monks of ten directions on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. This was because Wulian wanted to save his mother from suffering as she had become a hungry ghost in the world of *pretas* after her death. *Foguang Dacidian, zhong*, 1988, p. 3456.

186 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taepaekwasajon* V. 9, 1991, pp. 464-65.

187 *Tongdian, juan* 80, 2156-57. A number of historical texts and Classics record three-year mourning during the Three dynasties, and in the succeeding periods. *Tongdian* comprehensively introduces them.

mourning robes during periods which were specified according to their official status and relationship with the deceased imperial family. People had regularly to conduct a variety of ceremonies including *xiaoxiang* 小祥 (in principle, the first anniversary of the death-day) and *daxiang* 大祥 (second anniversary). Wendi 文帝 of the Han dynasty altered the three year mourning period, counting days for years, and bringing the mourning period to an end after three days.[188]

During the Song dynasty, the practice of replacing years with days was also followed. *Song Shi* states that upon his death, in the tenth month of the ninth year of the 開寶 Kaibao period (975)[189], the Emperor left a will which requested each day to count as a month; after thirteen days, *xiaoxiang*, and after twenty-seven days, *daxiang* should be performed. As is well known, during the Song dynasty, the length of the mourning period was constantly debated by rite officials. It appears that, occasionally, *daxiang* was observed after three years. For example, *Song Shi* states that upon the deaths of Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127-1161) and Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1165-1189) a three-year mourning period was observed.[190] Following the death of Xiaozong, in the ninth month of the fifth year of the Shaoxi 紹熙 era (1194) , *daxiang* was observed in the sixth month of the second year of the Qingyuan 慶元 period (1196), which indicates that the mourning period was one year and nine or ten months.[191]

However, for many Song Emperors, the period of mourning was shortened. Ceremonies for locating the ancestral tablets in *zongmiao* consequently took place after twenty-seven days rather than twenty-seven months. Although the *xiaoxiang* and *daxiang* were performed, the ceremonial dates were not really the first and the second anniversaries.

Finally, it is important to note that death-day anniversaries were conducted in *yuanmiao* ancestral shrines built inside the court and

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188 *Tongdian, juan* 80, p. 2157.

189 The Kaibao period only lasted to 974. However, in *Song Shi,* the first year of the following era (975) was counted as the last year of the Kaibao period.

190 *Song Shi, juan* 122, p. 2863.

191 *Song Shi, juan* 122, p. 2862-63.

monasteries, and that the ceremonies were conducted in Buddhist style. Among a variety of types of ceremony conducted in Shenyudian, it is important to note ceremonies performed on *jiri* 忌日 (death-day). *Song Shi* quotes *Zhenghe Xinyi* 政和新儀 which states that on this day, government officials attended the court and dedicated incense and tea at Jinglinggong.[192] According to *Song Shi*, the practice of *jiri* was a continuation of similar practices from the Tang dynasty. At the beginning of the Tang dynasty, on the death-day anniversary, performance of musical pieces and government administration came to be suspended and *xingxiang* (burning incense) 行香 was conducted. Later, it was also decided that on the first and fifteenth days after the death-day ceremonies, the court meeting was suspended, and people all over the country were to burn incense in accordance with the specified rite. Burning incense is a Buddhist practice. For example, in *Miaofa lianhuajing* 妙法蓮華經, a variety of types of incense offerings are introduced.[193] At the beginning of the Tianyou 天祐 period (904-906), it was also ordered that government officials should attend the court to console the deceased.[194] The Song dynasty copied this example in conducting *daji* 大忌 (second anniversary) for Xuanzu 宣祖 and Empress Zhaoxian 昭憲. All the court officials went to the western gate of the court and consoled the spirit, proceeding to a Buddhist monastery to burn incense.[195]

Although during the Song dynasty, the rites for the *jiri* were disputed by scholar officials and were altered several times,[196] this type of ceremony still always included religious, in particular, Buddhist elements. In the first year of the Jingde 景德 period (1004), it was decreed that neither punishment nor the slaughtering of animals should be conducted around the death-days. The performance of musical pieces was also banned for five days. Furthermore, the Emperor suspended government administration for three days before and after.[197] Holding a memorial service, the prohibiting of musical pieces or the production of plays, and the reading of *sutras* on the death

192 *Song Shi, juan* 123, p. 2891.
193 As one of such examples, refer to *Fahuajing, juan* 3, pp. 433-434.
194 *Song Shi, juan* 123, p. 2888.
195 *Song Shi, juan* 123, p. 2888.
196 Refer to *Song Shi, juan* 123, pp. 2888-2893.
197 *Song Shi, juan* 123, p. 2889-90.

anniversary are important Buddhist practices.[198]

It was also decreed that on the *daji,* incense should be burned and government officials ought to have meatless meals.[199] Again, refraining from slaughtering animals is one of the major Buddhist virtues. During the early period after the movement of the capital to Hangzhou, upon the *daji* of the Emperor and Empress, government ministers led all the officials in ceremonies of burning incense, and later, this task was taken over by the Empress and consorts of the period.[200] *Song Shi* states that, upon the re-establishment of Shenyudian inside the court, on the first and the fifteenth days of every month and on seasonal festive days, the birthdays of Emperors and Empresses, the Emperor himself dedicated wine and burned incense. Private family rites were employed.[201] Although this particular record does not list death-day anniversaries, it appears that Buddhist style ceremonies have been continuously practised in this type of shrine. For example, in the first year of the Chunxi 淳熙 era (1174), discussion on rites for the *jiri* also concerned the ritual related to incense burning and it was held in Jinglinggong.[202] *Zhenghe Wulixinyi* 政和五禮新儀 (1107-10), also records a government official's criticism of Buddhist style ceremonies held on the death-day anniversaries of imperial ancestors which were being held in the Shenyudian ancestral shrine at Qinxian Xiaosidian in the Jinglinggong.[203]

Based upon these textual sources, it appears that while the establishment of the *yuanmiao* system itself was based upon strict Confucianism, in fact, the activities conducted in this type of shrine included religious style ceremonies which had previously been performed at ancestral shrines and monasteries placed outside the court. Contrary to the original aim, then, one of the actual functions of this type of shrine was the carrying out of continuous mourning. This type of shrine must therefore, have required certain types of religious ceremonial vessels.

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198 *Buguang Dasidian, zhong,* p. 2885-2886.
199 *Song Shi, juan* 123, p. 2890.
200 *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2624.
201 *Song Shi, juan* 109, p. 2628.
202 *Song Shi, juan* 123, pp. 2891-2892.
203 *Siku Quanshu,* vol. 647, pp. 19-20.

What should also be noted is that in all these types of festive days of ceremonies as we have examined in Chapter 4.1 and 4.2, were followed by banquets. It should be emphasised here that celebration of festive days in all those religions involved here, ancient Chinese religion, Buddhism and Daoism necessarily accompany ceremonies to both the gods and deceased, and living people. In particular, in Classical rites originating in ancient institutions, one of the important principles was to report and to make an offering to the ancestral spirits whenever any events occurred.

Chapter 5

Yuanmiao ancestral shrines and their vessels during the early Ming dynasty

5. 1 Ceremonies held at Fengxiandian

According to *Taizu Shilu* 太祖實錄 (Veritable Record of Taizu, r. 1368-1398), during the Ming dynasty, the Hongwu Emperor told Tao Kai 陶凱, Minister of Rites, that serving the dead is to be akin to serving the living, and ordered him to find a place where his ancestors could be worshipped every morning and evening, and on the first and fifteenth days of every month. Upon this order, Tao reported the example of Qinxian xiaosidian at the Tianzhangge 天章閣 (Tianzhang Shrine) where the portraits of the deceased imperial ancestors were placed and incense was daily burnt by the Emperor. Tao also reported other rites such as the birthdays of deceased Emperors, observed on seasonal festive days and the first and fifteenth days of each month.[204] As *Da Ming Huidian* notes, Fengxiandian was built inside the court, and private family rites were performed.

Ming Huiyao states that Fengxiandian was initally built for worshipping the ancestors, up to the fourth generation, of the Hongwu Emperor.[205] However, further textual analysis shows that it was not only the ancestors of the Hongwu Emperor but most of the succeeding Emperors who were worshipped here. The range of spirits to whom ceremonies were dedicated covers deceased Emperors and Empresses. As *Ming Shi* notes, while *taimiao* functioned as a shrine for the deceased Emperors outside, Fengxiandian took the role of such a shrine inside the court.[206] Therefore, it appears that not only the ancestors of the Hongwu Emperor, but also those of succeeding Emperors were worshipped at this shrine as was the case with

204 *Taizu Shilu, juan* 59, pp. 1151-1152.
205 *Ming Huiyao* vol. 1, p. 153.
206 *Ming Shi, juan* 52, p. 581.

zongmiao.

It is important to note that mourning ceremonies were directly related to the function of Fengxiandian as well as ceremonies conducted on those festive days above mentioned. According to *Ming Shi*, upon the death of the Hongwu Emperor, it was decided that while officials of the central government were to remove mourning dress after twenty-seven days, princes, their consorts, governors of provinces, eunuchs, and officials working inside the court were not to do so for twenty-seven months. This means that a three-year mourning period was observed.[207] It has also been stated that the Jianwen Emperor decreed a three-year mourning period for the Hongwu Emperor.[208]

According to *Xuanzong Shilu* 宣宗實錄 (Veritable Records of Xianzong, r. 1426-35), the *daxiang* ceremony for the Yongle Emperor, was conducted one day before the enshrinement of the spirit into *taimiao* in the seventh month of the first year of Xuande reign, and was conducted in *jiyandian* 机筵殿 (a pavilion in which the ancestral tablet was placed and which served as a site of mourning before the enshrinement of *zongmiao*).[209] Meanwhile, *Xuanzong Shilu* describes how, after the enshrinement of the spirit of Taizong 太宗 (Yongle Emperor) at the *zongmiao*, the tablet was returned to *jiyandian* and a ceremony was held in Fengxiandian to report its enshrinement [at the *zongmiao*].[210] Thus, it appears certain that a place inside Fengxiandian was a *jiyandian* for Taizong.

As is known, *Xuanzong Shilu* states:

> "... on the *jiyou* 己酉 day [of the ninth month of the first year of the Hongxi reign (1425)], white porcelain sacrificial wares were ordered to be made at Raozhou [Jingdezhen], Jiangxi, for use at the altar for Taizong and Renzong 仁宗 (Hongxi Emperor) in Fengxiandian..."[211]

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207 *Ming Shi*, *juan* 58, p. 626.

208 *Ming Shi*, *juan* 58, p. 628. According to *Yingzong Shilu* (Veritable Records of Yingzong) (*juan* 6, pp. 124-5) 英宗實錄, after the return of the ancestral tablet of Xuanzong on the *jiazi* 甲子 day of the sixth month of the sixteenth year of the reign of Xuande, the tablet was enshrined in *taimiao* three days later on the *dingmao* 丁卯 day.

209 *Xuanzong Shillu*, *juan* 19, p. 503.

210 *Xuanzong Shilu*, *juan* 19, pp. 503-04.

211 *Xuanzong Shilu*, *juan* 9, p. 231-232.

The above record states more than the fact that white porcelain vessels were ordered for Fengxiandian. First of all, although it has been translated simply as "altar" up to the present time, *jiyan* actually means altars set up during the mourning period. Furthermore, a closer examination clearly shows that the order to manufacture white porcelain ceremonial vessels was made during the mourning period. It should be noted that this order was made during the mourning period of both Taizong and Renzong. The *daxiang* for Taizong was conducted in the seventh month of the first year of the Xuande reign (1426) at *jiyandian*.[212] *Xuanzong Shilu* also states that on *dingyou* 丁酉 day, in the ninth month of the first year of the Hongxi reign, there was a *fayin* 發引 (rite conducted before the coffin leaves for the burial site) for Renzong.[213] The order for the manufacture of porcelain vessels follows just ten days after this record. This shows that at that time, Fengxiandian was the *jiyandian* not only for Taizong but also for Renzong. It is therefore certain that white porcelain wares were ordered for use in practices during the mourning period.

The above records apparently exemplify the systematic demand for white porcelain vessels at Fengxiandian during the early Ming dynasty.

5. 2 Vessels for use in Fengxiandian

What types of ritual ware were employed, then, in the ceremonies at Fengxiandian? *Da Ming Jili* states:

> "... now, *xianxin* 獻新 offerings are performed at Fengxiandian on the first and the fifteenth days every month. In the sacrificial ceremonies, wares made of gold are used..."[214]

First of all, as prevously noted, the edict to make sacrificial ceremonial vessels for use in *taimiao* was issued in 1368, while another edict to manufacture sacrificial ceremonial vessels using porcelain was issued in 1369. Fengxiandian was established in 1370 and *Da Ming Jili* was printed in the same year. Therefore, it is clear that vessels for use in *xianxin* offerings were not included among the sacrificial ceremonial

212 *Xuanzong Shiu, juan* 19, pp. 506-7. For the ritual details of the ceremony as proposed by the Department of Rites, see *Ming Shi, juan* 51, p. 575.
213 *Xuanzong Shilu, juan* 9, p. 225.
214 *Da Ming Jili, juan* 5, p. 164.

vessels ordered on this occasion to be made of porcelain.

Although the sentence does not directly give information on the use of vessels of a particular type, the assumption can be made. It is significant that vessels made of gold were used instead of traditional bronze type of vessel. This shows that those gold vessels were probably of contemporary type. In the case of the Song dynasty, while in *zongmiao* ceremonies, particular traditional bronze-type vessels were specified, in *yuanmiao*, such a rule was not followed. As was the case with *yuanmiao* during the Song dynasty, private family rites were practised in Fengxiandian; the food served was similar to that served at the Emperor's daily table. These facts provide clues that in this type of shrine, wares of a contemporary type were employed.

Further pieces of information on the type of vessel used at this shrine can be found in both *Xuanzong Shilu* and *Ming Shi* which record that white porcelain wares were ordered for use in Fengxiandian. In particular, *Ming Shi* notes that white porcelain wares decorated with dragon and phoenix motifs were ordered to be made for use there.[215] However, as stated above, *Da Ming Jili* shows that in *xianxin* offerings at this shrine, gold vessels were used. Although open to many interpretations, it appears at the very least, that white porcelain vessels came to be employed as one type of vessel for use in ceremonies conducted at Fengxiandian, no later than the early Xuande period.

To determine the scale of white porcelain vessel use, more systematic analysis is required. A number of records on the manufacture of porcelain vessels for use in the imperial court are available. *Xuanzong Shilu* mentions the manufacture of imperial porcelains in the twelfth month of the second year (1427-8),[216] and in the ninth month of the fifth year (1430) of the Xuande reign.[217] In particular, the record from 1430 states that the Department of Manufacture dispatched an official to supervise the production of white porcelain vessels with dragon and phoenix decorations and requested an increase in their production. But the Emperor, considering the project too wasteful of resources, ordered production to stop.

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215 *Ming Shi, juan* 82, p. 863.
216 *Xuanzong Shilu*, vol. 18, *juan* 34, P.863.
217 *Xuanzong Shilu*, vol. 19, *juan* 70, p. 1653-54.

There are a few records which show that a major proportion of the white porcelain vessels manufactured were sent to *Guanglusi* 光祿寺. According to *Da Ming Huidian,* yellow, and blue-and-white porcelain vessels decorated with a pair of dragons and phoenixes produced in Jiangxi Province were to be sent to the Shangshanjian 尙膳監. White porcelain flasks, bottles, jars, *jue* and cups decorated with dragon and flower motifs were used under the management of *Guanglusi.*

In the third year of the reign of Tianshun (1459), officials asked the Emperor to reduce the rate of manufacture of white porcelain bowls and dishes decorated with dragon and phonenix motifs for use in *Guanglusi* by 40%. This record shows that white porcelain vessels were one of the major items destined for *Guanglusi.*[218] These vessels were used under the management of this office.[219]

What, then, was the function of *Guanglusi*? According to the section on *Guanglusi* in *Da Ming Huidian,* it was established at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The main function of this office was taking charge of affording materials for *shanchui* 膳垂 (generally, the meals for Emperors) and sacrificial ceremonies and banquets.

It should be noted that in the thirtieth year of the Hongwu reign (1397), *Sishengju* (chamber in charge of sacrifice) 司牲局 was additionally located inside this office to take charge of sacrificial ceremonies for imperial ancestors, food, vessels, and instruments for these ceremonies. The vessels for use in this office were prepared by the Department of Manufacture in Nanking.[220]

We have hitherto known that white porcelain vessels were used both at Emperor's table and in sacrificial ceremonies for Fengxiandian. The sacrificial ceremonies prepared by *Guanglusi* included those for Heaven and Earth, the Spirit of Grain and Soil held at *taimiao* and Fengxiandian.[221] Ceremonies for other gods, for example, *mashen* (horse-god) 馬神 were also conducted.[222]

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218 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 194, p. 2632.
219 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 194, p. 2632.
220 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 217, pp. 2900-2904.
221 *Da Ming Huidian, juan,* 217, p. 2891

All the materials for use in sacrificial ceremonies, including those for mourning and funeral rites, were provided by *Guanglusi* in accordance with the Department of Rites.[223] *Ming Shi* also states that the utensils for use in mourning ceremonies held inside the court for the Yongle Emperor dedicated by officials dispatched by the princes of each province and government officials, were provided by *Guanglusi.*[224]

In addition, sacrificial items for the shrine placed in the yard of Xiaoling were also provided by *Guanglusi.*[225] The most significant fact, however, is that among these ceremonies, those for Fengxiandian take up the greatest part of the record in the section on *Guanglusi.* This is because a variety of ceremonies were held every month, on every seasonal festive day, on the first and fifteenth days of each month and Buddha's birthday and on the eighth day of the fourth month. The food dedicated at each ceremony consisted of a number of dishes.[226]

Lau has pointed out that white porcelain dishes were particularly chosen for use in ancestral ceremonies along with *zongmiao, jiaosi,* imperial tombs and other sacrificial ceremonies held by the state. However, as previously established, the number of white porcelain vessels used in *zongmiao* was extremely limited, and vessels for *jiaosi* ceremonies were made in accordance with rites as specified in the Classics. The above analysis shows that the major source of the demand for white porcelain vessels must have been Fengxiandian and ancestral ceremonies, including those held during the mourning period.

Why, in particular, were white coloured porcelain vessels chosen for use in Fengxiandian? Lau has simply noted that in China the colour white was traditionally used in ancestral ceremonies.[227] More specifically, however, according to my analysis, it should be said that white porcelain wares were adopted for use in mourning ceremonies. We have already seen that Fengxiandian was also used as a place of

222 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 217, p. 2896
223 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 217, p. 2893.
224 *Ming Shi, juan* 58, p. 626.
225 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 217, p. 2903.
226 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 217, p. 2891.
227 Lau, 1993a pp. 83-99.

mourning as well as for ancestral ceremonies after the mourning period. In particular, *Da Ming Jili* lists the practice of dedicating meals daily and on the first and fifteenth days in the section on funeral and mourning ceremonies.[228] If we look more closely, it is significant to note that *Tongdian* states that white cotton or ramie was specified to be used to cover every ceremonial utensil used in funeral ceremonies.[229] Materials which are *su* 素 (showing frugality and reticence, which means materials without decoration and colouration) were generally regarded as showing respect and sincerity in rites, and were employed in ancestral ceremonies, including those for both funerals and mourning. *Ming Shi* also demonstrates that either white or black was specified for every item of ceremonial equipment, including clothes and hats.[230] For example, upon the death of the Hongwu Emperor, the Department of Rites decided during the mourning period that all the Heirs Apparent of each province, their wives, the lords of each county eunuchs, and court ladies should conduct their official duty wearing *su* robes.[231]

It is more precise to say, therefore, that white porcelain wares were initially adopted for use during the mourning period. Secondly, there is also a strong possibility that their use was extended for certain types of ancestral ceremony after the completion of the mourning period at the *yuanmiao* ancestral shrines. This is because one of the major functions of this shrine system is its role in mourning.

Thirdly and the most importantly, Fengxiandian was the main source of the demand for white porcelain vessels of ordinary shapes and probably some other ancestral vessels, including those used in mourning procedures.

Why should they have been made of porcelain? Lau has found that this policy was adopted in accordance with the specification recorded in *Liji* which states that sacrificial vessels were to be made of pottery. Lau relates the policy with *Liji* based upon a sentence from *Ming Shi* recording an appeal from a government official who quotes a sentence

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228 *Da Ming Jili*, v. 650, pp. 141-149.
229 *Tongdian, juan* 79, pp. 2142-43.
230 *Ming Shi, juan* 58, pp. 626-29.
231 *Ming Shi, juan* 58, p. 626.

from *Liji* as recorded in *Ming Shi*. However, I have already argued that the specification in *Liji* concerns *jiaosi* ceremonies. According to *Taizu Shilu*, the Hongwu Emperor left a will which forbade the use of gold, and jade in his funeral and mourning rites.[232] *Ming Huiyao* confirms this.[233] As I have already pointed out, the Hongwu Emperor adopted a policy of economising on the use of gold, silver and copper. Since, apart from vessels made of those materials, there were a variety of types of vessel, it is difficult to state whether or not white porcelain wares were used at his funeral or during his mourning period.

Based upon excavations of the Zhushan imperial kiln sites, excavators assume the use of white porcelain wares inside the court began from sometime around the Yongle period.[234] Under these conditions, it is more reasonable to assume that from sometime during the reign of Yongle, porcelain wares which satisfy these conditions began to be more actively used as sacrificial vessels for use in ancestral ceremonies held inside the court. One of the reasons for choosing white porcelain in particular, may have been the similar practice of using white porcelain vessels during the Song and Yuan dynasties. Although there were occasions in which vessels made using other types of materials which also can represent *su* might alternatively have been used, it is most likely that white ceramic vessels were used.

It is highly possible that in ancestral ceremonies held during those dynasties, a great number of white porcelain vessels were systematically employed in ancestral ceremonies. The colour "white" also has an important meaning in Buddhism, and also displays a significance in Tibetan Buddhism as will be detailed in Part III. It also should be noted that since the Six dynasties period, Buddhist ceremonial vessels were often white ceramics.

In addition to this, it is important to note that the functions of *Guanglusi* also includes holding banquets on various festive days including the birthdays of the Emperor, the Empress and the Heir Apparent, and for government officials after the

232 *Taizu Shilu, juan* 257, p. 3718.
233 *Ming Huiyao, juan* 17, p. 270.
234 Liu, 1996, pp. 37-42.

sacrificial ceremonies of Heaven[235]. I have already noted that banquets necessarily followed sacrificial ceremonies held on various festive days. Although we do not know what types of vessel were used in such banquets, it is possible to make an assumption. *Da Ming Huidian* states, for example, that 51850 pair of jars and bottles were assigned to be manufactured to Jun kilns and Cizhou kilns. In this way, orders for the production of a great number of ceramics were put to various kiln sites.[236] On the other hand, a separate entry is provided to list the orders sent to Jiangxi under the title "ceramics producing at Jiangxi". In most cases, the use of such vessels were specified, and these consisted of those for Fengxiandian, for the Emperor and Empress. Given this, it is not likely that white porcelain vessels were indiscriminately used in various functions inside the court. It rather appears to have been exclusively used for imperial ancestors, the Emperor, and Empress, and on extremely limited occasions even in the case of banquets.

235) *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 217, p. 2892.
236) *Da Ming Huidian, juan 217,* p. 2631.

Chapter 6

Early Ming imperial vessels for use in ancestral ceremonies into which religious practices were incorporated

Although we now know the reason why contemporary types of white porcelain vessel were used in Fengxiandian, some questions remain to be answered. How can we explain the incised decoration of scrolls and sprays of various types of flower and fruit, Buddhist emblems, on white porcelain bowls and dishes? Furthermore, a variety of West Asian shapes of vessels were made using white porcelain. They include stem cups, tankards, large plates, alms bowls, stands with three legs, and small jars, *bianhu* flasks and ewers with cylindrical necks and short spouts, basins, and flasks with cylindrical neck and handles decorated with monster motifs. The reasons for this choice should be explored.

In this chapter, my main concern is the exploration of the context in which such vessel-shapes and surface decorations were required. In order to pursue this, important features involved in ceremonies held inside Fengxiandian will be thoroughly analysed. I aim to prove that these types of vessel were made for use in both religious and religious style ceremonies held inside Fengxiandian and else where in the imperial court and other similar purposes of shrines of equivalent level, and at monasteries sponsored by the court; in the case of contemporary vessels, along with the above illustrated uses, wares for Emperor, Empress and very limited occasions on festive banquets held in religious context, and table use for Emperor and Empress decorated with auspicious Buddhist motifs. Eventually, I intend to trace the possible places and occasions at which underglaze blue wares with similar decorative designs and ware-shapes could have been used.

As will be shown, along with ceremonies regulated within the framework of state rites, various types of *zhai* 齋, Buddhist memorial services for the deceased parents of Emperors or imperial ancestors

were held inside the court, and at monasteries sponsored by the court. However, as has been stated in the case with the Song dynasty, it appears that even within the framework of state rites, both Buddhist and Daoist style ceremonies were often held. In particular, in ceremonies held during mourning periods and on death-day anniversaries as well as on certain seasonal festive days originating in either Buddhism or Daoism, such religious elements are very likely to have been frequently involved. While in many cases, they occurred in monasteries sponsored by the court, in some cases, such religious ceremonies appear to have been performed inside the court. In addition to this, there must have been other types of religious ceremony for reaching Buddhahood, held for preventing disasters, misfortune and disease for both the state and the imperial family, and for numerous other purposes. The specific purpose of this chapter, then, is to identify types of vessel for use in Buddhist style ceremonies. More textual evidence is available in the case of ceremonies held in the context of state rites. Among the various Buddhist and Buddhist style ceremonies, ancestral ceremonies appear to have been most significant. This chapter will consequently focus on religious style ceremonies, particularly those held within the framework of state rites.

6. 1 Imperial Buddhist practices during the Yuan and early Ming dynasty

The history of the practice of Tibetan Buddhism goes back to the Yuan dynasty. Tibetan Buddhism came to be strongly sponsored by the imperial house from the reign of Khubilai (1260-94).[237] In 1271, Khubilai reinstituted at the court the traditional state rituals and their accompanying music and dance.[238] *Yuan Shi* extensively describes rituals and rites of state and court.[239] As far as court religion is concerned, although at the beginning, Khubilai paid attention to Chan 禪 Buddhism, he soon turned to Tibetan Buddhism since this form of Buddhism provided a much more suitable vehicle for his political purposes. Tibetan monks played an active role in secular and political affairs for decades. Phags-pa (1235-80) was appointed Director of the Supreme Control Commission which administered Tibet in 1264. He supervised governmental relations with the Tibetan Buddhists and provided Khubilai with religious authority.[240]

In the sixth year of the Zhiyuan 至元 period (1269), the Tibetan version of the *Dazangjing* 大藏經 (Tripitaka) was translated into Chinese.[241] In the ninth year of the Zhiyuan period (1272), Dashengshuwanansi 大聖壽萬安寺 (Dashengshuwannan Monastery), Huayuansi 華嚴寺 (Huayuan Monastery) at Longxing 龍興, and Qianyuansi 乾元寺(Qianyuan Monastery) were built, and again in the twenty-fifth year of the period (1288) Wanansi 萬安寺 (Wanan Monastery) was constructed in the upper capital, Khara Khorum. Buddhist events and ceremonies were continuously celebrated.[242]

Although Chan Buddhism was the school favoured at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the dominant tendency sought the unification of Buddhist sects.[243] From the time of the first Emperor, the Ming

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237 Khubilai was coronated in 1253 before the establishment of the Yuan dynasty. Concerning Buddhism practised at the Yuan imperial court, refer to Michihata, 1939, p. 223.
238 Franke and Twitchett (ed.), 1994, p. 458.
239 *Yuan Shi, juan*, 67, pp. 1663-1905.
240 Franke and Twitchett, 1994, p. 461.
241 Michihata Ryoshu, 1939, pp. 227-228.
242 Michihata, 1939, p. 227.
243 Michihata Ryoshu, 1939, pp. 239-241.

government attempted to exert strict administrative control over every aspect of the *sangha*.[244] The institution of monk officials is an example of its modelling upon precedents. Monk officials had existed since the Later Qin dynasty (384-417) and in the Tang and Song dynasties, the *sangha* was under the director of the Buddhist Registry. In the Yuan dynasty, the office became known as the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. The first Ming Emperor followed the Yuan model and created the Commission of Buddhist Patriarchs in 1368.[245]

During the Song and Yuan dynasties, monasteries were divided according to function into three categories: meditation, scriptural study and discipline. The Hongwu Emperor kept the first two categories, but renamed scriptural study as exposition, and replaced the last category with a new one: ritual Buddhism, which was called the teaching, or more frequently, yoga category. The function of this category was defined in a 1382 regulation issued by the Ministry of Rites: expositing monks engaged in work were to concentrate on understanding scripture, whilst monks who taught were to educate the population through the performance of Buddhist rituals.[246]

Evidently, we need to pay special attention to ritualistic elements in relation to ceremonies held inside the imperial court. Buddhism received lavish patronage from the imperial court. The Hongwu Emperor himself was a Buddhist monk at Huangjue monastery and a devoted follower of the White Lotus sect, Bailianjiao before coming to the throne.[247]

The Hongwu Emperor also met and befriended Chusi fanqi 楚山梵琦 (1296-1370), Zongle 宗 (1318-91), and the statesman monk, Daoyan 道衍 (1334-1418).[248] Zong Le was sent on a mission to the western regions, visiting Tibet, and probably to India also, and coming back with some Tantric scriptures. In 1388, he was installed as the right Buddhist patriarch, the head of the newly established central Buddhist

244 Twitchett and Mote, 1998, pp. 893.
245 Twitchett and Mote, 1998, p. 904.
246 Twitchett and Mote, 1998, pp. 905-6.
247 Michihata, 1939, p. 239.
248 Twitchett and Mote, 1998, p. 900.

registrary which had the authority to oversee the *sangha* of the whole empire.[249] After the death of his principal wife, Ma, in 1382, the Emperor sought advice from the monk Zongle on the details of the Empress' funeral and Zong Le also recommended learned monks to assist in recitations of Buddhist scriptures.[250]

The Hongwu and Yongle Emperors not only wrote on Buddhism but also sponsored the compilation and printing of two sets of the Buddhist canon.[251] In 1410, the Hongwu Emperor sponsored the first Ming printing of the Tripitaka (Buddhist canon) which is known as the 'Southern Tripitaka,' named after Nanjing 南京 (literally, Southern Capital) where it was printed. The Yongle Emperor also sponsored another printing of the Tripitaka in 1420 in order to gain merit for the deceased Hongwu Emperor and Empress Ma.[252] From the reign of the Yongle Emperor, Tibetan monks began to be invited to the Ming imperial court. After his accession to the throne in 1403, the Yongle Emperor invited De-bzin-gsegs-pa (1384-1415), the head of the Karma-pa school known to the Chinese as Halima, and famous as a miracle worker, to Nanjing. After first sending a tribute mission, De-bzin-gsegs-pa came in person to the Ming court in April 1407 and was lavishly received. Not only did he perform religious ceremonies for seven days at the Lingguosi on behalf of the Emperor's deceased parents, the Hongwu Emperor and Empress Ma,[253] he also performed many miraculous feats, producing visions of various deities, apparitions of cranes and lions, flowers falling from the sky, sweet dew and so forth for twenty-two days. After this, he and members of his retinue were granted official titles and proceeded to Mount Wutai, the important Chinese Buddhist centre, where he performed further ceremonies. Until 1446, relations with the Karma-pa hierarchs continued. In 1413, the hierarch of the Sa-skya-pa, about whose magical powers the Emperor had also heard reports, was also invited to the Ming imperial court. After this, the Sa-skya-pa abbots continued to send missions to China until the 1430s. The Emperor also tried to develop a relationship with the greatest religious figure in Tibet at this

249 Twitchett and Mote, 1998, p. 904.
250 Mote and Twitchett, 1988, p. 147-8.
251 Twitchett and Mote, 1998, p. 912.
252 Mote and Twitchett, 1988, p. 912.
253 *Ming Shi, juan* 331, pp. 3810-11.

time, Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419), the founder of the dGe-lugs-pa, the Yellow Hat sect of Lamaistic Buddhism. Sha-kya Ye-shes, one of Tsong-kha pa's chief disciples, remained Nanking from 1414 to 1416, when he was allowed to return to Tibet with lavish gifts. The dGe-lugs-pa, too, continued to exchange gifts and send missions to the Ming court until the 1430s.[254]

6. 2 Buddhist style ancestral ceremonies and their vessels

6. 2. 1 Yuan ceremonies

Tibetan Buddhist rituals included initiation ceremonies, praying for rain or other secular goods, as well as, ceremonies for ancestors. While most Buddhist ceremonies are not documented in government annals, information on ancestral ceremonies has been relatively well recorded since they were framed within the context of state rites. In contrast to Confucianism, Buddhism makes much of the world after death. The spirits of the deceased should be guided to *nirvana* or paradise. Numerous rituals ought therefore to be performed during mourning periods and funeral ceremonies to save spirits which have not yet reached *nirvana*. In addition, ceremonies were also held on birth- and death-days.

Textual examination shows that the Yuan imperial court clearly included Buddhist rituals in ancestral ceremonies. *Yuan Shi* states that in the twelfth month of the sixth year of the Zhiyuan period (1269), the Emperor ordered *guoshi* 國師 (monk endowed with the title of "National Preceptor") to perform Buddhist ceremonies during seven days and nights inside *zongmiao*.[255] According to *Yuan Shi*, prior to the tenth month of the first year of the Zhiyuan period (1264) when *zongmiao* was built in Yanjing 燕京[256], imperial ancestors had been worshipped in Buddhist temples including Sheng'ansi 聖安寺.[257] In addition to the ceremonies carried out in *zongmiao*, portraits of royal ancestors were preserved in shrines for the spirits called *yingtang* 影堂,

254 Mote and Twitchett, 1988, pp. 263-264.
255 *Yuan Shi, juan* 74 p. 1832
256 *Yuan Shi, juan*, 740, pp. 1831-32.
257 *Yuan Shi, juan* 74, p. 1831.

and ancestors were also worshipped there. In the beginning, those *yingtang* were built inside Buddhist monasteries, including Dashengshuwanansi, and they were later moved to a shrine placed inside the imperial court called *Shenyudian*, as had been the case with the Southern Song dynasty.[258] It is evident that Buddhist style ceremonies were used along with Shamanist style ceremonies, in keeping with Mongol tradition.[259]

On the other hand, in the eleventh month of the fifteenth year of the Zhiyuan period (1278), the Emperor ordered a portrait of Taizu. In the second month of the sixteenth year of the period (1279), he again ordered a portrait of the grandfather of Taizu and directed it to be placed, together with the old portrait of Taizu, in the Hanlinyuan 翰林院, and honoured through ceremonies every spring and autumn. In the third year of the Zhizhi 至治 period (1323) these portraits were moved to Puqingsi 普慶寺, and the ceremonies ceased. Through a number of alterations, ceremonies were performed at Puqingsi as before from the seventh month of the original year of the Zhishun 至順 period (1330). From the second year of the period (1331), ceremonies were again offered at Hanlin Guoshiyuan 翰林國史院.[260]

The function of the shrines for spirits of the Yuan dynasty almost corresponds to that of the Qinxian xiaosidian during the Song dynasty, where, unlike the strict rites based upon the ancient model, the ones practised were similar to those for living people. Buddhist ceremonies were held at this type of shrine inside the court.

Considering the close relations between Tibetan monks and Yuan Emperors, and the Buddhist inclination of the Yuan imperial court towards worshipping royal ancestors, it is reasonable to suppose that the practices employed in Buddhist rituals influenced those carried out in *yingtang*. For example, Tibetan monks could have attended or led the ceremonies, and images of the Buddha could have been placed inside the shrine.

What types of ritual ware were employed, then, in such ceremonies?

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258 *Yuan Shi, juan* 75, pp. 1875-1876.
259 *Yuan Shi, juan* 14, p. 1831.
260 *Yuan Shi, juan* 75, pp. 1876-1877.

Sacrificial wares used in ceremonies performed in Shenyudian during the Yuan dynasty include dozens of bottles and bowls made of pure gold, several hundred gilded incense boxes, numerous jars and wine cups made of silver, wares made of jade, crystal, agates and glass and ladles made of amber.[261] Although *Yuan Shi* does not give details concerning types of ware, it is clear that, while wares made of crystal, agates, glass and ladles made of amber were not traditionally used in Confucian style rituals, they might well be common in the traditional Buddhist treasuries. Indeed, as Pal has pointed out, Buddhist ritual objects are often manufactured using precious metals, for example, gold or silver, and are sumptuously encrusted or inlaid with turquoise, carnelians, crystals and agates.[262] In accordance with what I have hitherto explored, the fact that Tibetan ritual objects are often rendered using such materials is significant. This is because these materials could not be regularly used at the Chinese imperial court until they were introduced and specified in its ritual framework. The above records from *Yuan Shi* show that Buddhist rituals were performed at *yingtang*. We can therefore tell that the use of vessels made of pure gold, silver, crystal, agates, "glass" and amber were mainly influenced by Tibetan Buddhism. Among these, it is possible that the glass vessels used in this shrine included monochrome or underglaze blue porcelain wares.

6. 2. 2 Ming ceremonies

As seen above, in the rites practised in ancestral shrines built inside the Ming imperial court, no record directly relating to Buddhist ceremonies appears. It is, however, important to note that the system of Fengxiandian was modelled upon Qinxian xiaosidian, *yuanmiao* of the Song period. The practices of daily incense burning conducted in Fengxiandian, correspond to those of *yuanmiao* during the Song dynasty and are derived from Buddhist practices. We have seen the strong Buddhist inclination in ancestral ceremonies and spiritual shrines at the Yuan imperial court. As stated above, the close relationship between the Hongwu Emperor and monks who had

261 *Yuan Shi, juan* 75, p. 1875.
262 Pal, 1983, p. 232.

connections with the Yuan imperial court, and also Tantric Buddhist backgrounds, further indicates the involvement of Buddhist elements in this type of shrine.

Despite the silence about religious style ceremonies in the sections on ancestral shrines, such information is sporadically found in Ming historical texts. According to *Xuanzong Shilu*, in the funeral ceremony for Emperor Renzong, the state, Chan and Lamaist priests dedicated an altar together.[263] Another important record compiled in the section of Xiyu 西域 (literally, Western regions, which indicates Central Asia) in *Ming Shi* shows the involvement of Buddhism in ancestral ceremonies. Upon the death of the Xuande Emperor, rite officials selected *fanseng* 番僧 (Tibetan monks), perhaps, to officiate.[264] The early Ming Emperors were devoted Buddhists, which means that after their death, Buddhist style ceremonies were necessarily performed in order to lead their spirits to *nirvana*. Given this, despite the fact that formally specified ceremonies must have been performed in a style based on the ancient model or Confucian style, some Buddhist elements were very likely to have been incorporated into this type of ceremony. Buddhist style ceremonies were also necessarily carried out in such places as in monasteries sponsored by the court and in imperial tombs or ancestral shrines built inside the court.

Another Buddhist element is found in *jichenji* 忌辰祭 (ceremonies conducted on the anniversary of death), for the consorts of Emperors, as was the case in the Song dynasty. In this case, even government annals record Buddhist style mourning. *Ming Shi* describes *xiaoxiang*, the first anniversary of the death-day of Empress Ma 馬, during the fifteenth year of Hongwu (1382). At Linggusi 靈谷寺 (Linggu Monastery) and Chaotiangong 朝天宮, *jiao* 醮 (communal rites) for the Empress Ma were performed for three days.[265] Again, upon the *xiaoxiang* of Empress Xu 徐, the wife of the Yongle Emperor, *jiao* were conducted at Tianxisi 天禧寺 (Tianxi Monastery) and Chaotiangong.[266] Both Linggusi and Chaotiangong were dedicated to religions other than Confucianism. Linggusi was one of the most renowned Buddhist

263 *Xuanzong Shilu, juan* 8, p. 214.
264 *Ming Shi, juan* 331, p. 3812.
265 *Ming Shi, juan* 59, p. 630.
266 *Ming Shi, juan* 59, p. 631.

monasteries in Nanking. Its original name was Daolinsi 道林寺 and it was constructed during the Southern Dynasties (222-589). Its name was altered a number of times during its history, finally being renamed as Linggusi during the Hongwu reign.[267] As can be seen in the record compiled in *Koryosa* 高麗史 (Annals of the Koryo dynasty) Chaotiangong is a Daoist monastery. *Koryosa* records that in 1370 during the reign of Hongwu, Xu Shijing 徐師景, a Daoist monk of Chaotiangong was sent to Koryo to dedicate sacrificial ceremonies.[268] Although it is difficult to identify Tianxisi, *si* 寺 traditionally indicates Buddhist monastery.

Although not directly recording Buddhist style ceremonies, *Ming Shi* shows that Buddhist elements were also involved even in certain mourning rites specified in ceremonies based on the ancient model or Confucian style. Upon the *xiaoxing* of Empress Ma, court meetings were suspended for three days and both the performance of musical pieces and the slaughtering of animals were banned.

This is similarly the case with Emperors. According to *Ming Shi*, for example, on the anniversary of the death of Renzu 仁祖 (the father of the Hongwu Emperor),[269] during the fourth month of the eighth year of Hongwu reign (1375), the Emperor himself conducted a ceremony at the imperial tomb.[270] In the first year of the Yongle reign, Li Zhigang 李至剛 of the Department of Rites and others discussed ceremonies of remembrance for the death-day of the Hongwu Emperor. They decided that two days before, the Yongle Emperor should conduct his government business at Xijiaomen 西角門 (the West Corner Gate of the court). Neither bells nor drums should be sounded, neither prize nor punishment should be carried out and no music should be performed nor should any animal slaughtering be carried out. All officials were to attend court meetings. On each of these days, the Emperor would conduct ceremonies at Fengxiandian, leading officials to the imperial tomb. It was the same for the deceased consort of the Hongwu Emperor.[271]

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267 *Foguang Dacidian, xia*, 1988, p. 6936.
268 *Yokju Koryosa* vol. 4: *kwon* 42, p. 83.
269 Refer to *Ming Shi, juan* 58, p. 626.
270 *Ming Shi, juan* 60, p. 638.
271 *Ming Shi, juan* 60, p. 638.

In Buddhism, as was in the case with the Tang and Song dynasties, both the birth and death anniversaries of ancestors were seen as of great importance and ceremonies were formally required. On these days, a memorial service would be held and the playing of musical pieces, the production of plays and the slaughtering of animals were prohibited. *Sutra* were also read.[272]

A number of different types of ceremony concerning the dead are practised. The purpose of such ceremonies is to guide the sprits of the deceased to paradise. Representative rites include *Sishijiuzhai* 四十九齋 (ceremonies performed during the first forty-nine days after death), *Ullambana zhai* 盂蘭盆齋 (ceremonies held on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of every year) and *Shuiluzhai* 水陸齋 (ceremonies for offering food to the hungry ghosts of the dead).[273] According to Buddhist tradition, *sutra* should be read on the day marking the anniversary of the ancestor's death in accordance with instructions in *Fanwangjing* 梵網經.[274] As stated above, upon the request of the Yongle Emperor, *De-bzin-gsegs-pa* perfomed ceremonies at Lingguosi for seven days on behalf of the Hongwu Emperor and Empress Ma. Given all these facts, *jichenji* is very likely to have been influenced by Buddhism.

While the colour white has an important function during the mourning period in the context of rites based upon the ancient model or Confucian style, it also traditionally has a significance in Buddhism. The white porcelain wares decorated with incised lotus scroll or other Buddhist motifs produced at Zhushan kiln factories, are very likely to have been manufactured for use in Buddhist style ceremonies such as the *jichenji*.

It is also very likely that ceremonies held at Fengxiandian, during both the mourning period and on death-day anniversaries, included Buddhist religious elements. Such Buddhist influences were present in

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272 *Foguang Dacidian, zhong*, p. 2885-2886.

273 The term originated with *Shimenzhengtong* 釋門正統, dedicating food to the supernatural beings should be done on streaming water; offering food to ghosts, on clean land. *Foguang Dacidian, shang*, 1988, p. 1489.

274 *Foguang Dacidian, zhong*, p. 2885-86.

similar ancestral shrines during the Song dynasty. Almost all kinds of ceremony were carried out at this type of shrine. To begin with, shrines in which ancestral portraits were preserved were placed inside monasteries, before those portraits were brought into the court and ancestral shrines were eventually built there. Similarily, ancestral spirits were enshrined in monasteries, including Buddhist monasteries, before they were moved into the Yuan imperial court. It appears that Buddhist-style ceremonies were conducted in this type of Yuan shrine. The ceremonies at Fengxiandian, modelled upon those held at the Song and Yuan ancestral shrines, must therefore have been influenced by Buddhist elements. It may be assumed that, while in certain ceremonies religious elements were excluded, in others, those elements were actively included. However, it is also possible that, despite differences in degree, almost every type of ceremony was influenced by such religious elements. Nevertheless, due to a lack of textual evidence, it is difficult to picture the precise situation. What we can clearly acknowledge, however, is the strong Buddhist involvement in ceremonies held at Fengxiandian.

Given that even inside Fengxiandian, Buddhist-style ceremonies were held, a great number of other types of Buddhist-style mourning ceremonies and death-day anniversaries must have been conducted at monasteries sponsored by the court.

As pointed out in Chapter 4.1 in Part II, it appears that it was not only sacrificial ceremonies which were held on those religious festive days, birth and death days and during the mourning period, banquets necessarily followed such sacrificial ceremonies.

In addition to this, important festive days included birthday banquets for the senior imperial family. What is important here is that on such birthdays, sacrificial ceremonies were also held to report such events to the ancestral spirits. Furthermore, it is most significant that on such festive days, after conducting ancestral ceremonies, banquets were held for high-up government officials. Banquets were also held for ordinary government officials, followed by the ceremonies The same also holds for mourning ceremonies: during the mourning procedure, in which numerous ceremonies occurred, meals were provided to mourners.

All the banquets for which implements were provided by *Guanglusi* - which consumed the major proportion of porcelain wares produced at Zhushan kiln sites - appear to have been held after sacrificial ceremonies held on major festive days in which religious elements were necessarily involved. Therefore vessels for use in such banquets were very likely to have been manufactured in the same religious context.

Considering the context of the hierarchy, it would be reasonable to assume that porcelain vessels were used in those banquets when porcelain vessels were employed in serving imperial ancestral spirits.

When Buddhist practices were involved in mourning practices, *zhai* always followed. Among a variety of *zhai*, one of the most representative is *Ullambana zhai*. According to *Ullambana* Sutra, by offering tribute meals to Buddha, and to monks as well as to the spirits of the deceased, people can save the spirits of their parents. Not only were numerous dishes served to altars during this type of ceremony, but also to the attendants.

As is known, the lotus flower is one of the most significant symbols in Buddhism. According to the *Lotus Sutra*, if people possess, reiterate, lecture or copy it, they would benefit from their such good causes.[275] Lotus floral scrolls are usually depicted on the cover of the *Lotus Sutra*. The act on drawing a lotus as it decorates the cover and symbolises the content, would have similar outcomes. In past societies, where people were not able to access modern science and medical technologies, and particularly for imperial families who were always in the midst of political struggles, the power of protection from religions must have been important for guaranteeing the security of the imperial family.

It appears that ancestral ceremonies at Fengxiandian, and sirmilar types of ceremony held inside the court, ceremonies conducted at monasteries sponsored by the court and all types of banquets which necessarily followed such sacrificial ceremonies, were the major sources

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275) *Miaofa lianhuajing, fashigongdepin* 19, *Miaofa lianhuajing xia*, p. 244

of the demand for West Asian metalwork shapes, as well as bowl and dish shapes. This shows a strong possibility that underglaze blue wares, and other types of monochrome or polychrome vessels with similar shapes, were made for similar purposes.

As mentioned above, recently C. Lau has claimed that monochrome porcelain vessels were used as state sacrificial ceremonial vessels during the Ming dynasty under the edict of the Hongwu Emperor to manufacture sacrificial vessels using porcelain in accordance with an ritual specification as recorded in *Liji*. This view has been widely accepted up to now. In my view, however, the policy of controlling the use of gold and silver during the early Ming dynasty influenced the deployment of porcelain vessels for use in Fengxiandian and other vessels for use in sacrificial ceremonies, the materials of which were not specified in the Classics. I believe that the genuine reason for the edict of 1369 to employ porcelain vessels for use in some sacrificial rites was more likely to have been the policy of controlling the use of metalwork. It does not appear that literally every single sacrificial vessel was made using porcelain. Yet, most such vessels appear to have been made as porcelain wares.

As Atwell summarises it, the root of such a policy traces back to the late Yuan dynasty. Many parts of China suffered economic troubles during the 1340s. Some of the causes are assumed to have been deteriorating and ecomomic conditions elsewhere in Eurasia, influenced by a series of sharp monetary fluctuations that led to a decline in commercial activity in western Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia. Neither the background to such fluctuations nor their underlying causes are yet understood. Carlo Cipolla has suggested that at least some were probably related to an incident in Central Asia in the years immediately prior to 1346, which affected bullion mining in Turkestan, Ferghana, and Bukhara, and disrupted international trade in Eurasia at this time.[276] In 1350, the Yuan dynasty reformed the currency system and a new variety of paper money was issued. However, these new notes were not actively used and accordingly failed to be circulated due to insufficient reserves of Yuan treasures.

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276) Atwell, 1998 p. 38; see Carlo Ciplla, The monetary policy of fourteenth-century Florence Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1982, pp. 1-46.

These new notes could not hold their arbitrarily assigned value, and, by the mid-1350s had became completely worthless. This in turn brought the hoarding of both good quality copper coins and unminted gold and silver. Silver rose especially rapidly in value at this time.[277] Over the next few years, credit in China became increasingly difficult to obtain, and commercial activity slowed.

Under such a monetary situation, the first Ming Emperor printed its own paper notes and tried to enforce a paper money system, yet failed, the paper bills were neither exchangeable for, nor backed by, silver. The Emperor forbade the use of both copper cash and silver bullion for the purpose of enabling the circulation of those paper notes. For the same reason, the tax system, although basically committed to payment in kind, sometimes allowed the substitution of copper and silver in tax payments while discouraging the use of paper, in order to remove copper and silver from circulation. Paper money was printed in large quantities.[278]

Finally, along with above reasons, as the founder of the Ming dynasty usurping to the power from the position of a farmer, the first Emperor needed to put forward a benevolent policy practically helpful to plebian and farmers. Mining required significant human resources.[279]

Under such circumstances, as examined above, the Emperor issued regulations which enforce the traditional hierarchical discrimination for the use of gold and silver. Furthermore, the Emperor, as a firm practitioner of Neo-Confucianism, even left a will to conduct his own funeral in a frugal manner, in accordance with Zhuzi Jiali. 朱子家禮 (Family Rites devised by Zhu Xi).[280]

On the other hand, the Yongle Emperor encouraged mines to be opened in many parts of the Ming empire. The extent of illegal

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277) Atwell, 1998, pp. 381-82.

278) Heijdra, 1998, p. 454.

279 *Miing Shi, juan* p. 849 : Atwell also points out the Emperor's concern about the exploitation of labours as one of the reason for not allowing mining. Atwell, 1998, p. 384.

280) *Ming Shi, juan* 58, 626.

mining is not known, but it seems likely that during the first three decades of the fifteenth century, substantial quantities of silver were being mined in China that were not flowing directly into government hands.[281] In addition, international trade became active, which in turn brought substantial amounts of silver from foreign countries. However, the Yongle Emperor himself was also faithful follower of Neo-Confucianism.

In any case, however, it is true that the early Ming government was very sensitive to the opening or use of metal mines since they were directly related to the monetary system and wider economy. Such a situation may have brought a reserved attitude towards the use of gold and silver right across the country.

In particular, it is more likely for the case of the imperial court which encouraged paper money circulation, that the use of vessels made of other materials than gold and silver would have been vital, since these vessels could be used as means of economic exchange. Furthermore, symbolically, it would have been important for the imperial court to set a good example to the rest of society in how to refrain from using gold and silver. In addition, the frugal policy of the Hongwu and Yongle Emperors who largely influenced by Neo-Confucianism, is also likely to have greatly influenced the drive to the use of porcelain vessels. The suppression of the use of metalwork and the active employment of porcelain, thus, appear to have greatly contributed to the development of the porcelain industry from the early Ming dynasty.[282]

The situation of the early Ming dynasty is contrastive to that of the later period. Studies show that economic and political conditions in China improvedduring the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a situation that was probably accompanied by diminished hoarding of precious metals due to peaceful political mood, and by increased

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281 Atwell, 1998, p. 385.

282) In this dissertation, given the limited space, and the degree of significance which this topic could take in the entire flow of development of this dissertation, I cannot not further extend the discussion on the relationship between the economic policy of the early Ming dynasty and the active employment of porcelalin vessels. Further discussion will be published in the near future.

imports of silver from abroad.

Initially drawn to the American mainland by the prospect of finding gold, by the 1530s and 1540s, the Spanish were making even more spectacular strikes of silver. Silver from these mines flowed into international circulation almost immediately, but it was not until the mercury amalgamation process of refining was disseminated throughout Spanish America after about 1550 that production soared to the heights that were to transform world monetary history. By the mid 1570s, silver from Potosi and other New World mines was flowing to China along three main trade routes, the most important of which ran from Acapulco on the west coast of modern Mexico to Manila in the Philippine Islands. During the late 1570s and 1580s Sino-Spanish trade grew rapidly.[283] This situation shows marked contrast to the situation in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Clunus analyses several cases of tomb discoveries, historical records, a contemporary novel and collectors' evaluations. According to him, gold and silver vessels were much more expensive, favoured and regarded as high-grade vessels than porcelain wares during the Ming dynasty. He, for the most part, focuses on the cases from outside the imperial court, and on the late Ming dynasty.[284] The phenomenon observed during the early Ming dynasty might be interpreted in a similar context to the situation of the late Ming dynasty, as Clunas examines. As explored above, in order to control the circulation of gold and silver and to encourage paper notes, the Emperor ordered the use of porcelain wares as sacrificial ceremonial vessels. This may mean that people initially rather inclined to the use of gold and silver rather than porcelain, as Clunas points out. Nevertheless, despite this inclination towards precious metalwork, the reason why more porcelain vessels were used can be found in the monetary and political situation of early Ming China as I have hitherto explored, rather than in ritual reason as previously believed.

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283) Atwell, 1998, pp. 387-391.

284) Crig Clunus, "Some Literary Evidence for Gold and Silver Vessels in the Ming Period (1368-1644), " pp. 83-87. Also refer to "The Cost of Ceramics and the Cost of Collecting Ceramics in the Ming Period," 1989, pp. 47-53.

Whilst people during the Ming dynasty initially favoured and gold and silver as more precious materials, the economic situation of the early Ming dynasty required that they be saved. Thus, the use of porcelain vessels was actively encouraged. It certainly appears that it was not entirely because of the superiority of "porcelain" as a material that certain porcelain vessels came to replace court vessels which had hitherto been made using either gold or silver, at the early Ming imperial court. Yet, in the case of the early Ming period and the imperial court, the situation appears rather complex. When porcelain came to be employed, even for the most important positions in ancestral ceremonial vessels for use at Fengxiandian, it emerges that "porcelain" was no longer on an inferior position.

As generally acknowledged in academic circles, the quality of white porcelain is superb and its manufacture requires great endeavour and elevated technique. The solidity but thinness of the body wall transmit Sunlight when held upward. The surface design is so delicately engraved, and therefore invisible that only close observation allows appreciation. Levels of technique and beauty were distinctively upgraded compared to *yingqing* or even to *Shufu*, the precursors of this type of ware during the Yuan dynasty.

Da Ming Huidian shows the regulations promulgated in 1393 during the Hongwu reign on the peoples' employment of residences, vessels and other items in terms of size, material and design, and accordance with social rank. According to this, apart from cups and ewers for wine which were allowed to be made using silver, ceramics, lacquer or wooden wares should be used for the rest of vessels, in the case of relatively low-grade imperial family and government officials. On the other hand, the use of gold and silver vessels was allowed for senior members of the imperial family members and of the government.[285] Thus, we see ceramics were regarded, and functioned, as relatively low-grade vessels. According to Pope, a preliminary survey of the appropriate sections of the *Da Ming Huidian* reveals only the most casual references to porcelain throughout, and there is no evidence that it was held in any particular esteem at court.[286]

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285) *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 62, p. 1075.
286) Pope, 1956, p. 37.

However, it is very important to note that there are a variety of ceramics used inside the court. As noted above, vessels made using ceramics delivered to *Guanglusi* included those from numerous kilns in various Chinese provinces, as well as those from Zhushan at Jingdezhen. This fact shows that various types and grades of ceramics were used in a number of different types of sacrificial ceremonies and banquets held on festive days inside, or sponsored by the court. *Da Ming Huidian* generally uses the method of stating facts very roughly without giving many details. However, as noted earlier, it is important to find that whenever it mentions Jingdezhen wares, in particular, white porcelain wares, it does not forget to specify that these vessels were for Fengxiandian and were for the Emperor. Thus, it is evident that these type of ware were regarded and played an important role. Accordingly, it is clear that the types of porcelain vessels employed by the low-rank imperial family and by government officials were not made using white porcelain but other types of porcelain or ceramic vessels during the early Ming dynasty. Based upon the above evidence, it appears that the employment of white porcelain wares in imperial ancestral shrines, at the Emperors' daily tables and as vessels for official gifts, entirely contributed to the promotion of the position of certain types of porcelain vessels inside the court.

In his discussion on the cost of collecting ceramics in the Ming period, Crunas points out that Ming ceramics were highly evaluated by late Ming connoisseurs such as Shen Defu. On the other hands, he also introduces Shen's record which states that although in ceramics the dearest ones were those from early Ming dynasty, when Shen was a child he [people] did not think of them as valuable treasures.[287] I am not sure whether or not, we could also apply the evaluation of Shen Defu living outside the court during the sixteenth century, in the case with early fifteenth century imperial court. Even if we accept Shen's view, we should note that he discusses about the value of imperial ceramics as antiques. It does not mean that these porcelain wares were ranked lower than those of gold and silver when these vessels were made and practically used at the early imperial court.

287) Crunas, 1989, pp. 50-51.

Taoshuo 陶說 (Description of Pottery) published in 1774 and written by Zhu Yan 珠琰, shows, however, that prices of those with reign mark were extremely high and certainly uncomparable to those from late Ming period. Zhu was given an appointment under the jurisdiction of the Governor, and made his personal investigation of the processes of manufacture of porcelain at Jingdezhen as well as of the private potteries which supplied the whole of China. While it may not show the precise value put on certain types of wares during the time they were made, it nevertheless reflects the relative value to a certain degree. The text quotes the author of *Pushu tingji* 曝書亭集 who states that he observed the cost of some porcelain of marked Xuande and Chenghua as two to five times as much as those of Wanli porcelain vessels selling at the fair at the Buddhist temple, Cirensi 慈仁寺 while he was staying at Peking. Those who had the money did not hesitate a moment, he claims, so that porcelain at this time reached a far higher price than the purest jade.[288]

As seen in the above study of the financial situation of the late Ming dynasty, when these conditions dramatically improved, the restriction upon the use of gold and silver must have been loosened, which might, in turn, have led gold and silver again to be employed in important functions as court vessels, as well as, of course, for the rich plebian class. Whilst greater numbers of high quality porcelain vessels are likely to have been employed in wider range of uses, this type of vessel appears to have been treated as relatively common. As will be analysed in Chapter 13 in Part VI, the early Choson dynasty came across exactly the same phenomenon. Historical records shows that government officials composed poems for praising the quality of white porcelain wares endowed by the King during the reigns of Sejong and Songjong, during the fifteenth century. This is very contrastive to the attitude towards the same type of vessels during the sixteenth century which regards porcelain as trivial things. Porcelain vessels were also often the objects of aesthetic appreciation during the wine banquets held at the court. This obviously shows that at the royal courts during the early Ming and Choson period, certain types of porcelain vessels opened a new era for highest technique, and beauty, and therefore, of important position and value for porcelain wares.

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288) Bushell, 1910, pp. 141-142.

PART III

ORIGIN OF EARLY MING IMPERIAL UNDERGLAZE PORCELAIN VESSELS

Introduction

Although I have previously given brief summaries of the types of porcelain vessels produced at the Zhushan kiln sites, it would be in order to introduce here a more detailed description. Despite the fact that Ming imperial underglaze blue wares are preserved in museums all over the world, the number of Hongwu examples in such collections remains relatively small. The situation of the manufacture of imperial underglaze blue wares during the Hongwu reign has come to be known through the excavated materials at the Zhushan kiln sites. Types of vessel produced here include: red-glazed, underglaze red, underglaze blue and white porcelain wares.[288] Representative ware shapes are large plates, large and medium-sized bowls, wine cups and saucers. Decorative motifs include: sprays and scrolls of various flowers, and garden or landscape scenes.[289]

Of the several groups of finds recovered from the site of the Ming Imperial Factory, only the following two groups can be dated on the basis of stratigraphy to the early Yongle period: remains from the middle section of Zhushan road; remains from Zhonghua road.[290] Of the several groups of finds recovered from the site of the Ming imperial factory, about 98 percent of the sherds recovered from Stratum Four and Stratum Five of the middle of Zhushan road are snow whit e.[291] The remaining 2 percent have a pale celadon or black glaze.[292] From the late Yongle remains at Gongguanling, although the most important were still sweet white ware, the types of ware produced also include: underglaze-blue; underglaze-red; red-glazed ware; and red-and-white glazed ware. In addition, wares with low-fired colours used either as glazes or as painting media were also discovered. These types include: ware with turquoise glaze and impressed or incised decoration; ware with green decoration on yellow ground; ware with a decoration of iron-red dragons on green ground; and ware with an iron-red decoration on sweet- white-glazed ground. Other types

288 Liu, 1996, p. 52.
289 Liu, 1996, pp. 35-36.
290 Liu, 1989, pp. 57-62.
291 Liu, 1989, pp. 61-62.
292 Liu, 1989, p. 58.

also include: ware with brown-glazed decoration applied to white-glazed ground; small numbers of black-glazed square boxes; small numbers of Longquan-type celadon in the form of small dishes and ewers.[293] The majority of underglaze blue vessels consists of dishes, large bowls decorated on the interior and exterior with floral scrolls, and stem bowls, with phoenix motif. Two unusual types are the pear-shaped vase, thinly potted and painted with dragons, and the ladle, the interior densely inscribed with Sanskrit, the outside painted with random floral sprays.[294]

Xuande remains are scattered over the entire site of the Ming Imperial Factory. The greatest concentration was found between Zhushan Road and the south wall of the municipal government building in what was the front court of the factory. The sherds recovered here number several tens of thousands. Based upon four records on the manufacture of underglaze blue wares in the imperial factory listed in *Ming Shilu*, Liu identifies the periods of activity at the imperial factory during the Xuande reign into two: one from the first to the fifth year (1426-30), the other from the eighth to the tenth year (1433-35), the years in between being a hiatus.[295]

The types of vessel excavated are divided into high and low-fired wares. The ware-shapes mainly consist of plain bowls, dishes, bottles and jars and those resembling Islamic metalwork. High-fired wares include one group without painted decoration such as glazed sweet white; red; blue; *yingqing*; sky blue; celadon of Longquan-type; tea dust; and cafe-au-lait. Another group of wares include: those painted with underglaze blue; with underglaze red; with underglaze blue and red; with brown on white ground; with green on white ground; with white decoration reserved on blue ground. Low-fired wares can also be categorised into those with and without painted decoration. The first includes: glazed yellow; sprinkled blue; turquoise; cucumber green; green on yellow ground. The second consists of vessels painted with: underglaze-blue on yellow ground; underglaze-blue and overglaze-iron red; underglaze-blue on turquoise ground; turquoise; iron- red; and *doucai*. Apart from a few types such as sprinkled blue and *doucai*,

293 Liu, 1989, pp. 64-65.
294 Liu, 1989, p. 63.
295 Liu, 1989, p. 69.

which were innovations of the Xuande period, these were all carried over from the Yongle period.[296] As previously noted, regardless of precise date attribution within each reign era, Liu's dating appears fairly secure across eras as it is primarily based upon dates inscribed on sherds and stratigraphy.

In the previous chapter, we saw how the manufacture of ceremonial vessels followed well-defined specifications. Even vessels for daily use inside the imperial court were manufactured in this way. My research shows that the majority of vessels used in *zongmiao* at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were made of either gold or bronze. In addition, most of the vessels employed in *jiaosi* were traditional types of sacrificial vessel. I conclude, therefore, that a large number of white porcelain vessels of plain shapes and decorated with dragon and phoenix were manufactured for use both in Fengxiandian and at the sovereign's table. As seen above, underglaze blue porcelain vessels also accounted for a substantial proportion of the ceramic vessels produced at the imperial kiln factories at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, from the Hongwu (1368-98) to the Xuande (1426-35) reigns. What should be noted is that underglaze blue vessels follow the same pattern as white porcelain vessels. If, therefore, most vessels for use in the imperial court were not arbitrarily designed by officials or Emperors, how can we explain the production of these underglaze blue vessels, especially the bold and brilliant blue colour decorations along with extraordinary ware-shapes?

There exist vessels decorated with a motif combining dragon and clouds, and reign title inscriptions in underglaze blue. This can be seen, for example, in the underglaze blue jar in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum.[297] It was legislated that two-horned and five-clawed dragon designs were reserved for imperial use as sited in *Yuan Shi*[298], regardless of their exact use. It, therefore, appears that early Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels bearing both this decoration and inscription under the glaze were manufactured in accordance with certain specifications framed in the context of state or court rites. In addition, *Ming Shi* states:

296 Liu, 1989, pp. 67-68.
297 *Toji taikei* vol. 42, 1975, fig. 29.
298 Liu, 1993, pp. 33.

> [In the enthroning year of the Emperor Yongzhong 英宗 (1457)], ...when the palace building was completed, [the Emperor] ordered the manufacture of a large number of vessels decorated with nine dragons and phoenixes for use at his dining table. After that, blue and white porcelain jar decorated with dragons were also manufactured.[299]

Although underglaze blue jars must have been used for in the imperial court during the reign of Emperor Yongzhong, however, it is obvious that this was neither the sole or main function of this type of vessel at the early Ming imperial court. The period mentioned is also slightly later than that on which our research focuses. Furthermore, a much wider variety of decorative designs were used to decorate the surfaces of early Ming underglaze blue vessels. In addition to this, concerning their shapes, despite the continued use of Tang and Song vessel designs, a variety of non-Chinese forms emerged, notably those resembling West Asian metalwork.

It is important, therefore, to explore the derivation of those elements which define early Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels, namely their colour and shape. This section will propose a theory as to the process of deciding design, ware-shape and use of underglaze blue wares from the beginning of the Ming dynasty to the early fifteenth century. This proposition will be based upon substantial evidence that a large number of imperial underglaze blue vessels were manufactured in accordance with ceremonial specifications set out in Tantric Buddhist texts. This practice followed that of the Yuan dynasty. During the Yuan and the Ming dynasties, some underglaze blue vessels were also probably used by Buddhists as auspicious, informal banquet vessels and for other purposes, such as imperial gifts to sovereigns of foreign countries. However, it will be shown that a large number of them were originally designed in accordance with Tantric Buddhist specification, and a substantial proportion were identified as actual Buddhist ceremonial vessels.

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299 *Ming Shi, juan* 58, p. 862.

Chapter 7

The principles of specification for Buddhist ceremonial vessels

As I have explored in Part I, the details of state ritual wares were not only codified during the ancient Chinese dynasties, but were maintained by successive dynasties. The importance of faithfully maintained patterns for ritual vessels in accordance with original models is clearly shown in the debates surrounding ritual vessels throughout the history of their production and use. As anyone can see, the striking contrast of blue decoration on the white surface of ceramic vessels and ware-shapes which resemble West Asian metalwork, were obviously not the products of the traditional state rites. How, then, can we explain the fact that such a large amount of underglaze blue vessels were consistently produced from the Yuan dynasty onwards? The exploration of the ritual vessel system originated in ancient Chinese institutions leads me to hypothesise that in the Buddhism practised at the early Ming imperial court, a comparable system of ceremonial vessels existed. Furthermore, according to my exploration, most of the shapes of those vessels for use in the ritual process had been codified according to a specific system. The Buddhism practised at the court on ceremonial occasions was Tantric Buddhism largely influenced by Tibetan Buddhism where ceremonies play a significant role. Thus, I assume that a large number of imperial underglaze blue vessels of the early Ming dynasty were manufactured in accordance with Tantric Buddhist ceremonial specifications. Early Ming imperial Buddhist rituals have strong contemporary Tibetan Buddhist elements, along with those practised by Yuan as previously stated.

Initial evidence to support my contention emerges through comparing Ming imperial underglaze blue porcelain wares and information given in religious texts. In particular, we should note a Tibetan manuscript concerning ritual cycles, "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can*" (Sealed and secret biography of the Fifth Dalai lama) written during the

seventeenth century.[300] This needs to be examined along with Tibetan thankas produced in both Tibet and Ming from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This Tibetan manuscript, now preserved in the private collection of Lionel Fournier in Paris, records ritual cycles of Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies of particular types, and contains diagrams depicting them. These diagrams, illustrating details of ritual cycles and ceremonies of particular types, are intended to depict (*dpe-ris*) the ritual paraphernalia of the fifth Dalai lama that is a part of the preparation (*bca'-gzhi*) for religious ceremonies, performed either in private or in public. Through these images, one can note the employment of numerous types of vessel in different types of ceremony. To whom, and what purpose, each ceremony is dedicated determines the specific uses of ritual items. Compiled in these pictures are wares of numerous colours, shapes and decorations.

First of all, we should note the value of a manuscript that brings us information on Buddhist ceremonial specification. Secondly, although certain Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts, for example, "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar-rgya-can,*" describe ritual processes, it has not previously been noted that each of the vessels shown in the manuscripts was originally codified according to a specific system of Buddhist rituals. Until now, only symbolic ritual instruments such as *vajra*, conch shells and objects with an obviously distinctive shape, such as monk's cap jugs, have been understood as purely Buddhist ritual wares. It is generally considered that the remaining types of ritual ware - for instance, bottles, ewers and jars, dishes and bowls - were borrowed from wares employed in daily use. Similarly, while the meaning of each colour in Buddhism has been known, the coloured cloths hanging around the shoulders of vessels have not drawn any academic attention. Moreover, no attention has been paid to the link between these elements and extant underglaze blue vessels. This is also the case with the thankas of Tibetan Buddhism. Ultimately vital, alteration in the way that extant vessels are recognised is therefore serve as the most important factor in connecting the system of ritual wares to existing porcelain wares.

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300 Translated and edited by Samten Gyaltsen Karmay: Sealed and secret biography of the Fifth Dalai lama. "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can*" referred to as Karmay, 1988, p. 68.

Early Ming imperial wares date from the fifteenth century while the Tibetan text dates from the seventeenth century and Tibetan thankas from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. One might wonder how the text can support this theory. We cannot exclude the possibility that before the Tibetan vessels influenced the wares of the Ming dynasty, ceremonial wares used in Buddhist rituals of the Ming dynasty influenced those of Tibet. However, prior to discussing such complicated interactions in history, this dissertation aims to prove that majority of these vessels were, in the first place, made in accordance with specifications in Tantric Buddhist rites.

It should be noted that Tibetan Buddhism, a form of Tantric Buddhism, was adopted from India as the state religion in 779, during the Yarlung dynasty. Some 200 years after the fall of this dynasty, Buddhism flourished again, most significantly under Yeshe O (r. mid 10th c), who promoted Buddhist scholarship and the establishment of monasteries. By the time the so-called Second Diffusion of Buddhism was initiated, in the eleventh century, from both the eastern and western ends of the Tibetan plateau, Buddhism in India had reached its apogee. Attention should be paid to the fact that on each occasion of the importation of Buddhism, most of the religious principles imported from India were faithfully followed. The same must have been the case with the arts which accompanied Buddhist practices. During long sojourns in the monastic universities of Nalanda, Vikramasila and Odantapuri, Tibetan scholars saw Indian artists at work, and they returned to Tibet laden not only with finely illuminated scriptures, but also with statues and paintings to adorn their own newly constructed monasteries.[301] Tibetan art reflects this ideal of absolute faithfulness to the original model, although both in the evolution of the schools of Tibetan Buddhism and in the art created for them throughout the centuries, a slow and ineluctable transformation can be seen.[302] Besides, there are some influences from Bon, the native religion of Tibetans. However, the largest proportion of ritual principles in Tibetan Buddhism was derived from Tantric Buddhism originated in India.

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301 *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 30, 1996, pp. 805-806.
302 *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 30, 1996, p. 808.

Since the leading Buddhist sect in the Tibetan plateau changed over time, one may ask whether such changes are evident in their ritual vessels. Although a variety of sects developed, their iconography was not much influenced by sectarian differences. Regional and chronological developments are more distinctively reflected in their art rather than styles associated with different religious schools.[303] There is a great deal of evidence, therefore, to suggest that the diagrams of wares compiled in *gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can* and Tibetan Buddhist paintings fully illustrate the criteria applied to Buddhist ceremonial vessels.

303 The Nyingmapa, the oldest sect, was inspired by the powerful personality of the 8th century A.D. Indian guru 'Padmasambhava and based its teachings on translations made during the First Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet under the Yarlung rulers. The Kadampa and Sakyapa (the latter founded in 1073 at Sakya) considered the revealed texts of the Nying mapa apocryphal and accepted as authentic the new translations made at the time of Dinchen Sangpo (958-1055) and Atisha (982-1054). The Nying mapa and other Red Hat schools placed emphasis on mystical revelation and meditation, the Kadampa, and later, the Gelugpa founded by the reformer Tsong Khapa (1357-1419) in the early fifteenth century, and referred to as the Yellow Hat school- tended towards scholarly discipline, debate and logical analysis with a gradual and rational approach to enlightenment." *Dictionary of Art,* vol. 30, 1996, p. 808.

Chapter 8

Colour elements present in porcelain vessels from the early Ming dynasty

8. 1 Confucian-style ritual specifications

Ming Shi states that :

> [In the coronation year of Emperor Yingzong (1436),] ... it was ordered that commoners were not allowed to use yellow, red, green, blue, purple, dark blue colour porcelains or porcelains decorated with blue on white surface...[304]

Since this decree was announced in the first year of the reign of Zhengtong 正統 (1436),[305] it does not necessarily follow that this rule was practised prior to this. However, reading between the lines, as it were, it appears that certain colours were reserved for use by the imperial family and the state. As can be observed in *Ming Huiyao,* 240 red lacquered plates and bowls were furnished for *tainiao* in accordance with the order of the Hongwu Emperor to serve the deceased in the manner to which they were accustomed when they were alive.[306] Similar evidence is also found in *Ming Shi.*[307] Red was clearly an important colour, used exclusively by Emperors. In fact, the use of colours and particular patterns of decoration was controlled by legal codes from the beginning of the Ming dynasty.

As is well known, in 1367, just before the Ming dynasty was founded, Zhu ordered the compilation of the Code and the Commandment.[308] In addition to legislation dealing directly with the social order, the first decade of Zhu's rule produced an enormous body of decrees and rulings governing such matters as dress, styles of residence,

304 *Ming Shi, juan* 82, p. 863.
305 *Ming Shi, juan* 58, p. 863.
306 *Ming Huiyao,* p. 128.
307 *Ming Shi, juan* 51 p. 574.
308 Farmer, 1995, p. 37; *Ming Taizu shilu, juan* 26, pp.389-90.

departments, titles, funeral practices and religious rituals.[309]

Given that porcelain vessels were used daily at the Emperor's table and, in sacrificial ceremonies, we may assume that the use of various colours of monochrome vessels were controlled within the context of Confucian style rites or those based on the ancient model. This is because a number of such rites employ colour as one of the elements which manifests the functions of ritual instruments. For example, the official robes worn by the Emperor during the sacrificial ceremonies offered to Heaven and Earth were decorated with five colours. Those five colours were also employed on cotton cloths dedicated during the ceremonies.[310]

Lau relates the use of monochrome wares to historical records which state that they had been employed in *jiaosi* ceremonies during the Ming dynasty, as stated in *Da Ming Huidian*.[311] However, without specifically mentioning when such a practice started, Lau generalizes this view to apply to the whole Ming period including the beginning of the dynasty. As she states, in the *jiaosi* rites, the system of constructing an altar was precisely codified, and coloured porcelain tiles were used during the Ming dynasty. This system needs to be noted in relation to the use of monochrome wares. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, sacrificial ceremonies for Heaven and Earth were carried out separately, in the southern and northern suburbs of the capital. According to *Ming Shi*, in the tenth year of the Hongwu reign (1377), the Emperor decided to conduct these ceremonies at the same time at the *yuanqiu* in the southern suburbs of the capital. At that time, Taizu decided to build a temple known as *Dasidian*, and it became necessary to cover the altar areas with a roof. The six pillars of a storehouse called *tianku* 天庫 behind the *Dasidian* were decorated with pottery tiles covered with yellow glaze, and a pavilion behind the *zhaigong* 齋宮 (a place where ceremonies were held) building was also

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309 Farmer, 1995, p. 39; *Ming Taizu Shilu*, *juan* 28, pp. 467-8, 709-710, 744-745.

310 *Da Ming Huidian*, *juan* 60, p. 1071; *Da Ming Huidian*, *juan* 60, pp. 1017-18. Uses of five colours in emperors' robes are often recorded. For example, in *jiaosi* ceremonies, colours of cottons dedicated to the Heaven, Earth, and other gods are all specified. See *Da Ming Huidian*, *juan* 81, pp. 1270-71.

311 *Da Ming Huidian*, *juan* 82, pp. 1284, *juan* 83, pp. 1304, 1311; Lau, 1993, pp. 94-99.

glazed with blue.[312] Therefore, we know that monochrome porcelain tiles covered with yellow and blue glazes, were used in the shrines for *jiaosi* ceremonies. Although during the twenty-first year of the Hongwu period (1388), the Emperor abolished sacrifices offered at the altars of the Sun and the Moon[313], *Da Ming Huidian* relates how in the ninth year of the Jiajing reign 嘉靖 (1530), the ceremonies were again held, but at four separate altars.[314] These altars were constructed in the four suburbs of the capital corresponding to the four cardinal directions. Furthermore, the text states that in 1530, the Emperor ordered the manufacture of sacrificial wares decorated in colours that would correspond to the direction of the altars where they would be used. Although Lau believes that from the beginning of the Ming dynasty monochrome vessels of variegated colours were used in *jiaosi* ceremonies, it is very important to determine more precisely whether sacrificial wares of different colours had already been used in *jiaosi* ceremonies before the edict of 1530.

Since no such statement is found in historical sources, it is difficult to know the exact situation. The 1587 edition of *Da Ming Huidian* lists the sacrificial wares used in *jiaosi* both prior to and after, the 1530 alteration. However, before the alteration, there is no indication of colours being assigned to sacrificial wares other than ritual instruments, for example, blue jade for *Shangdi* 上帝 (God of Heaven)[315], yellow *cong* (yellow jade in the shape of *cong*) for *Huangzhi* 皇祇 (God of Earth).[316] After 1530, however, along with blue jade, 3 *qingci* 青瓷 (blue porcelain or celadon) *jue* specialised for *daming* 大明 (the Sun) and *yeming* 夜明 (the Moon) were listed.[317] Given this, it seems more likely that it was not until 1530 that different colours were specified for *jiaosi* altar wares. However, defining the exact situation is difficult, and it is still possible to think that from the beginning of the dynasty, the use of colours in rites based on the ancient model influenced production of certain types of coloured vessels.

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312 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 538; Lau, 1993, p. 194.
313 *Ming Shi, juan* 47, p. 538.
314 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 82, pp. 1281-1320; *juan* 83, pp. 1303-1320.
315 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 81, p. 1270-1271.
316 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 81, pp. 1271.
317 *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 82, p. 1284.

However, a great number of variously coloured monochrome and underglaze blue porcelain vessels have shapes similar to West Asian metalwork. It is obvious that these West Asian vessel-shapes were not derived from the Confucian tradition, and thus were not produced for use in ceremonies for Heaven and Earth.

8. 2 Tantric Buddhist ritual specification

What uses were made of those porcelain wares which had West Asian metalwork shapes and which were decorated in monochrome of various colours or in polychrome? Although, as time passed, some of them may have been used in less formal events in imperial courts or in other religious rituals, I contend that a considerable percentage of such types of vessel were initially manufactured in accordance with Buddhist ceremonial specifications. According to the analysis presented above, Tibetan Buddhism played a very important role in rituals at the early Ming imperial court. We need, therefore, to examine Tantric Buddhism.

At this point, one needs to pay attention to the importance of the symbol in Buddhist theology. The interrelationships between Buddhist icons and divinities are extremely complex. As Pratapaditya Pal summarises it, in a sense, they may all be identified with one another; they share each others' attributes and have the same functions, since they are all part of the essence of Buddha. Firstly, all divinities and Buddhas symbolise the cosmic principle or consciousness. The addition of multiple limbs to their images in human form signifies their universality because such a multiplication was a convenient conceptual formula for materializing the all-pervasiveness of the deity. Colour is another means of expressing Buddhist conceptual formulae.[318] However, since there are so many cases of the use of specific colours being associated with particular icons it is impossible to detail them all. I would like, therefore, briefly to mention some representative examples.

According to the text of *Guhyasamaja*, as Blanche Christine Olschak and Geshe Thupten Wangyal translate it, each *Dhyani*-Buddha has a Mantra,

318 Pal, 1983, p. 41.

a colour and a direction. Symbolically described, they originate from the semen of the spiritual sphere, springing from primordial sounds, holy syllables and formulas transcribed into Sanskrit letters. Therefore, each *Dhyani*-Buddha has a special Mantra of origin and a *dharani*. The *Dhyani*-Buddhas represent the centre, as well as the five rainbow colours and the four basic elements, which together with ether and spiritual energy are called the six cosmic elements, symbolising the states of aggregation. The *Adi*-Buddha, *Thogma Sangya,* the primordial Buddha, represents a spiritual concept, the self-originated, self-being, aboriginal, from which all else sprang: the primordial sounds called seed-syllables, all directions, the six elements, the five rainbow-colours and the five-fold wisdom out of the primordial transcendent wisdom or *Adi Prajna*. The visible, celestial appearance of the *Adi*-Buddha in the zenith is *Vajradhara Dorjechang*. It represents the zenith, the supreme cosmic consciousness. Its colour is white, like a radiant diamond from which all colours emanate. In this way, Akshobhya, Mikyopa is associated with the centre, the primordial, all pervading substance, and with the colour blue; Vairocana, Nampar Nangdza is associated with the east and with white; Ratnasambhava, Rinchenjungdan is associated with the south and with and yellow; Amitabha, Opame is associated with the west and with red; and Amoghasiddhi, Donyodubpa is associated with the north and with green.[319] Thus, we can see that directions and colours are among the most important symbols in Tantric Buddhism.

As Pal points out, all the practices of Tibetan Buddhism require various implements which are as important as the images of the deities in whose service they are employed. Ritual objects are often rendered in precious metals, such as gold or silver, and are sumptuously encrusted or inlaid with turquoise, carnelians, crystals and agates.[320] I would like to point out that, in particular, *gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can* provides invaluable information regarding the colour codifications of Tantric Buddhist ritual wares.[321]

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319 Cf. The translation and summarisation of Tibetan texts by Blanche Christine Olschaka and Geshe Thupten Wangyal is referred. Blanche Christine Olschak, 1987, p. 198.

320 Pal, 1983, p. 232.

321 Translated by Samten Gyaltsen Karmay: Sealed and secret biography of the Fifth Dalai lama. "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can*"are referred. Karmay, 1988, p. 68.

As previously noted, the illustration of *mandalas* and ritual instruments depicted in this manuscript are intended to describe the ritual paraphernalia of the fifth Dalai lama, which is a pre-requisite for ceremonies held either in private or in public. There are five groups of illustrations, each designated by either a general term or the name of a divinity in the margin of the folio. This indicates that the objects drawn belong to the ritual associated with that particular divinity. Each group is composed of several illustrations and each of these illustrations has a separate title informing the reader of that part of the *rGya-can*, the particular ceremony is described.[322] In each illustration the number of the objects drawn varies; one may have as many as thirty-eight objects and quite often the same objects are drawn elsewhere since they are commonly required in many types of ritual. The five groups of illustrations are arranged consecutively (Group I excepted) in the order found in the manuscript under the following headings[323]:

I. *rGya-can Spyi*
II. *Gro-lod*
III. *d Mag-zor*
IV. *Khams-gsum zil-gnon*
V. *Karma drag-po*

However, while Groups II to V depict the ritual method of realisation of particular deities, illustrations in Group I, *rGya-Can Spyi*, consist of ritual articles needed in a particular ceremony. They depict ritual objects that might be used in the empowerment initiation of twenty-three different ritual cycles.[324]

Although the ritual instruments vary from ceremony to ceremony, both in terms of their placement and their combination, the commonest types of ritual instrument used can be summarized as follows: throne of the officiating master, wheel (*'khor-lo*), incense (*spos*), conch (dung), butter-lamp (*mar-me*), bunch of peacock feathers and *kusa* grass known as *kha-rgyan* (*khagyen*), *tsakali* resting on a *vajra* (*rdo-rje*), *vajra*, vase

322 Karmay, 1988, p. 71.
323 Karmay, 1988, p. 73.
324 Kamay, 1988, p. 73.

(*bum-pa*), *mandala, vajra* used for holding the *gzungs-thag,* volume of ritual texts (*sgrub-pod*), bell (*dril-bu*), plate containing a liquid offering, overlapping pieces of cloth with different colours and inscribed with *mantras* known as *cod-pan, torma* used as an oblation, lamp, plate containing a liquid offering vase, plate containing various liquids and other substances used as offerings, vase with flowers, skull-cup (*kapala*) and so forth.[325]

It is difficult to know precisely the types of materials from which these are made based solely on the pictures in the manuscript. However, it is clear that while some of the ritual vessels appear to be made of metal and glass without specific colouring, most are monochrome vessels of various colours, two-colour vessels or even vessels with multi-coloured decorations. In addition, we can also see either single or multiple cloths of monochrome colours with or without decoration tied around the necks or shoulders of vases and bottles. Those two facts clearly represent the systematic employment of colour elements in Tibetan Buddhist rituals.

8. 2. 1 Monochrome elements

Blue or sky blue is one of the most frequently used colours. Many blue or sky blue decorated items are observed in ritual articles. One such example can be found in ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *bka'-brgyad rig-'dzin zhallung* (no specific meaning, name of a minor god; all the titles for the Tibetan ritual cycles in the below are named after minor gods in Tibetan Buddhism who plays the roles of central deities in each ceremony) (pl. 1)[326]and in *'Chi-bdag bdud-'joms* (pl. 2)[327] both of which belong to the group, *rGya-can spyi.*

In particular, it is frequently observed that plates or ewers are decorated with blue colouring. Representative examples are found in the ritual cycle, *rdo-rje-'chang strog-gi rgya-mdud,* which belongs to *rGya-can spyi.*[328] Sky blue-coloured lotus panels decorate a dish that

325 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 76-173, pls. 1-55.
326 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 80-81, plate 3.
327 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 82-83. pl. 4.
328 See Karmay, 1988, pl. 16.

contains pills used in the ritual of longevity, placed at the centre and supported on a tripod. In *mTsho-skyes 'chi-med rdo-rje,* which also belongs to *rGya-can spyi,* a sky blue colour adorns a plate that would have contained *torma* for an offering, placed in the centre of the table. We note a similarly coloured cloth which is wrapped around the neck of a vase on a tripod on the table (pl. 3).[329] It is also worth noting that for the ritual cycle of *Bla-ma bde-chen dbang-phyug,* included in *rGya-can spyi,* a deep-sea blue cloth is hung around the neck of the vases placed on each of the tripods located to the left and right of the *mandala* (pl. 4).[330] Other colours are also used individually. For example, in the empowerment ceremony, according to the ritual cycle *lHa-lcam-gyi byin-rlabs mkha'-'gro'i snying-bcud,* which also belongs to *rGya-can spyi,* a plate of red monochrome colour is employed containing *torma* (pl. 5).[331]

Although, in later periods, these colours may have been widely employed on vessels made for secular use, I propose that the monochrome elements were originally codified for ritual wares. It is evident that the use of ritual vessels of various colours at the altars for the Buddhas and divinities is a notable characteristic of Tantric Buddhist ritual ceremonies. Such a significant position of monochrome vessels used in these ceremonies can clearly be associated with the use of monochrome porcelain vessels during the early Ming imperial court, a time and place in which Tantric Buddhism had a strong foothold.

Thus, it appears certain that during the Ming dynasty, the major proportion of monochrome wares of various colours were initially manufactured for Buddhist ritual ceremonies held inside the court or monasteries sponsored by the imperial court. This must have been the case before the first official record of their employment in the state sacrificial ceremonies for Heaven, Earth, Sun and Moon.

8. 2. 2 Polychrome elements

In Tibetan ritual implements, one also finds a polychromatic use of colour. In many cases, we can find that either blue or red cloths or

329 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 88-89, pl. 7A.
330 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 90-91, pl. 8A.
331 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 100-101, pl. 13B.

cloths of these colours together with those of other colours are tied around the necks or shoulders of ritual instruments. For example, the combination of these coloured cloths is well represented in the empowerment ceremony of the ritual cycle, *Thugs-rje chen-po 'jig-rten dbang-phyug* which belongs to *rGya-can spyi* (pl. 6). In this ritual cycle, one can find combinations of coloured cloths in a hat placed on the left side of the *mandala,* in overlapping pieces of cloth of different colours and inscribed with *mantras* which are known as *cod-pan* located to the right side of the *mandala,* and in a throne of the officiating master located above the *mandala.*[332] This is also the case with the cloths which appear in the ritual cycle, *bKa'-brgyad rig-'dzin zhallung* in *rGya-can spyi.* Here, on the shoulder of a vase used in the second stage of the empowerment ceremony, placed in the centre of a *mandala* and on the shoulder of a vase for the ablution ceremony located in the lower left, one can also find the use of variegated coloured cloths (pl. 7).[333] Polychromy of this type is also often employed in depicting flowers arranged in bottles, and in decorating the bottles themselves. Such examples can be observed in the ritual cycles of *Thugs-rje chen-po 'jig-rten dbang-phyung*[334], *bKa'-brgyad rig-'dzin zhallung*[335]; *'Chi-bdag bdud-'joms*[336] all of which also belong to *rGya-can spyi.*

How one can relate underglaze blue porcelain vessels to Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial vessels? I contend that the only difference between underglaze blue vessels and Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial vessels is found in the manner of expression. Tibetan vessels were made of metalwork or glass, and the colours were expressed by painting with pigments, by being inlaid on metalwork or by using coloured cloths hunging around the body. Monochrome porcelain vessels were made by using colour pigment on the whole body under the glaze; while in polychrome porcelain wares, polychromatic decorations were painted on parts of the body under the glaze. In the case of underglaze blue porcelain vessels, however, blue colour decorations were partly painted on the surface of the vessel under the glaze. Given this, it appears evident that underglaze blue painting was

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332 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 76-77. pl. 1.
333 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 78-79. pl. 2.
334 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 76-77, pl. 1.
335 See Karmay, pp. 78-79, pl. 2.
336 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 82-83. pl. 4.

an alternative to the use of blue cloths as a means of decoration.

This discovery also shows that the relationship between textiles and decorations on ceramics could have been much closer than expected. It was not simply a matter of imitating and transposing decorative styles from one type of material to another, but a transformation of the type of material used in the decoration of vessels; the material supporting the decoration itself changed, from textiles to ceramics.

Although scholars have often pointed such transformations, attention has mostly been paid to the move from silver to ceramics. Consequently, other shifts have been overlooked. Furthermore, up to the present time whilst certain decorative resemblances between types of textile and underglaze blue wares or other ceramics have been noted, the reason *why* they were developed has never been addressed. It is my contention that resemblances across and between those two media, in many cases up to early modern period, can not be understood using purely aesthetic criteria, but need to be addressed in the contexts of systems of rites in which certain rules for the production and consumption of vessels became institutionalised and eventually accepted as customs.

Chapter 9

Vessel shapes

Among high-quality underglaze blue porcelain vessels which turn out to be the imperial products, there exist non-traditional ware-shapes which begin to appear from the Yuan period or the early fifteenth century during the Ming dynasty. These include West Asian metalwork shapes which are also frequently found in monochrome and in some polychrome porcelain vessels. Their decorative motifs are geometric designs, scrolls and sprays of various flowers, Buddhist emblems, or sea creatures.

Basil Gray and other Western scholars have classified the West Asian metalwork shapes of underglaze blue wares. They include: stem cups, tankards, large plates, ewers with heart-shaped panels, pear-shaped ewers, ewers with S-shaped handles and spouts, *bianhu* flattened flasks, ewers with cylindrical necks and short spouts, basins, and flasks with cylindrical necks and handles decorated with monster motifs. Recently, based upon an excavation at the Zhushan kiln sites, Liu has added alms bowls, stands with three legs, octagonal candle stands and small jars to this list.[337] Except for the stands with three legs, each of these vessel shapes are also present in white porcelain wares. Amongst ewers and large plates are most common types of vessel found in Islamic collections.

In Part II, I show that a major proportion of white porcelain wares were used as vessels in ancestral ceremonies held by the court. Vessels of West Asian type, with their exquisite and extraordinary shapes, do not seem practical for daily use. The most reasonable assumption concerning their use must be that they were employed as sacrificial ceremonial vessels, in all likelihood, in Buddhist rites. In this section, I analyse these vessels with reference to the Tibetan

337 Liu, 1996, pp. 39-41.

Buddhist manuscript, "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can,*" and to thankas from both Ming China and Tibet.

My analysis will divide ware-shapes into two groups:
Group I: vessels whose shapes are documented either in "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can,*" or in Tibetan Buddhist thankas.
Group II: vessels whose exact shapes are not documented.

9. 1 Group I

This group can be further divided into:
Group IA: stem cups, tankards, large plates, alms bowls, stands with three legs, and small jars.
Group IB: ewers

Group IA:

Stem cups

A variety of stem cups are found and may be distinguished according to their stem and bowl styles. Those of the commonest type have a cup with a flaring rim and a stem which gradually widens towards a closed foot. Although a variety of styles exist among them, I will largely categorise them into Type 1, those with a smooth stem, and Type 2 those with a ridge around the stem.

Type 1 stem cups

Examples are mainly found in both the Yongle and Xuande periods. Representative examples of Yongle period wares include underglaze blue stem cups decorated with sea animals excavated from Zhushan [pl. 8].[338] Among the examples from the Xuande period is a underglaze blue stem cup decorated with five-clawed dragons, lightly incised and reserved in white against a blue wave background now in

338 Liu, 1989, pl. 33. Other examples include an underglaze blue-and-red stem cup decorated with sea creatures, and a underglaze blue stem cup decorated with clouds and phoenixes, both of which were excavated from the Zhushan kiln sites. Liu Xinyuan, 1989, pls. 37, pl. 39.

the collection of the Percival David Foundation.[339] The most representative Yuan dynasty examples of Type 1 stem cups are found in white porcelain manufactured at Jingdezhen, one such is in the collection of the Shanghai Museum.[340]

Pope offers an opinion that the derivation of Type 1 stem cups is unclear.[341]. Before locating the exact source of the form, we should pay attention to the use of this type of wares. Taking into account the decorative motifs found on many stem cups, such as Eight Buddhist emblems or Sanskrit inscriptions, Brankston postulates that they must have been employed at Buddhist altars.[342] However, he does not carry his investigations further in order to find actual proof. Earlier in this dissertation, it has already been argued that the manufacture of most Ming imperial wares was not an arbitrary process, rather, wares were manufactured according to strictly codified imperial rituals based on the relevant rites. It appears difficult, then, to explain how such exotic types could have been accepted as imperial wares. The most reasonable way to approach this question is to speculate whether such wares were based upon other systems of rites. Wares similar to Type 1 stem cups are found in the Tibetan manuscript, *gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can*. Wares of this type were employed in rites designed to suppress evil spirits according to the ritual cycle, *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ba* (pl. 9) which belongs to the group *Gro-lod*.[343] Another stem cup is also observed being employed as a tea cup according to the same cycle (pl. 10).[344] The stem cups which appear in this manuscript are made of transparent glass. Thus, it is evident that in many cases, this type of ware was manufactured in accordance with Buddhist ritual codifications and some of the wares were used as containers for liquid offerings such as tea or water.

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339 Medley, 1976, Plate VI, A 635.

340 Liu Liangyu, 1992, p. 157.

341 Pope, 1956, p. 64.

342 Brankston, 1938, pp. 27-28. Gray also offered the same opinion, more recently Liu Xinyuan expressed a similar view. Gray 1941 p. 56; Liu, 1989 p. 22.

343 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 112-113, pl. 19.

344 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 116-117, pl. 21.

Type 2 stem cups

The commonest type of stem cup has a ridge on the stem, a cup with a flaring rim and a stem gradually widening towards a closed foot. The cup is shaped like a large bowl with a slightly outwardly extended rim. The stem, whose height is slightly greater than the cup, is widely splayed toward the foot. In the middle of this type of stem is a slightly raised ridge like a ring enclosing the stem. Examples of Type 2 stem cups from the Hongwu period are mostly found in white porcelain. One example, with a foliate bowl, was excavated at the Zhushan kiln sites.[345] Extant examples also include a underglaze blue stem cup with a sea animal decoration from the Yongle period (pl. 11)[346], and one with a sea animal and Sanskrit decoration from the Xuande period[347], both of which were excavated from the Zhushan kiln sites at Jingdezhen.

A number of cups with ridges on the stem were manufactured during the Yuan dynasty. The shapes of bowls, stems and ridges vary. In the case of many Yuan ceramic wares, several horizontal lines are formed on the surface of the middle of the stem. These are not, however, raised distinctively, as those found on Ming wares, as they are only slightly raised above the surface, resembling nodes on bamboo. Examples include nine underglaze blue porcelain stem cups discovered from a hoard excavated in Gaoan County at Jiangxi Province[348] and five underglaze blue stem cups found at Dajianzi in Chifeng in Inner Mongolia.[349] Another type has a single raised horizontal band around the stem, as can be found in a white porcelain cup collected from the Jingdezhen kiln site.[350] Although the shape of the ridge on these examples is different from that found on Ming wares, the most important principle is the expression of the raised ridge, which distinguishes Type 2 from Type 1 stem cups.

Gray traces the dissemination of ridged stem cups. They occurred in

345 Liu, 1996, pl. 16.
346 Liu, 1989, pl. 38.
347 Liu, 1989, pl. 53.
348 *Wenwu*, 1982, no. 4, p. 61, fig. 3.
349 *Wenwu*, 1984, no. 5, p. 90, fig. 7.
350 The Fung Ping Shan Museum, 1992, pl. 124.

the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and the Aegean, and in the special form of the *cantharos* in Greece. Examples in both pottery and metal of this form, with its characteristic deeply incurving handles were used as chalices in the early Christian church. As Gray has pointed out, similar ware-shapes are found in Tang metalwork. Since their shapes differ, he perceives that the direct source of influence on Ming underglaze blue porcelain stem cups must have come from West Asian metal cups manufactured between the seventh and thirteenth centuries. As for the mechanism through which those Islamic works were disseminated, Gray states that it was through the Chinese importation of gold and silver wares from the Middle East, probably in the Kurashan period. Up to about 1200, the main centre of this industry seems to have been in Kurashan, later shifting to Mosul.[351] Again, according to Gray, although wares of this type were manufactured in the Cizhou kiln complexes, the amounts produced were limited. It is highly likely that, in Jun wares, stem cups of this shape had been produced from the Song period under the influence of imported Near Eastern metal cups.[352]

If we turn our attention to the use of this type of ware, however, many appear to have been employed as lamps in Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies as can be observed in *"gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can"*. For example, they are used as butter-lamps (*mar-me*) required in the empowerment ceremony of the ritual cycle, *Thugs-rje chen-po 'jig-rten dbang-phyung* which belongs to *rGya-can spyi* (pl. 6).[353]

The Tibetan stem cups illustrated in the manuscript, however, have a voluminous, heavily formed and longer, stem, with a massive and distinctively raised ridge. It is necessary to explain both the similarities in shape and the differences in style present in Yuan, Ming and Tibetan wares. First of all, we may plausibly think it is also likely that in the process of manufacturing this type of vessel in ceramics based upon the metalwork model, the style could have been slightly modified. The most important element in this analysis, however, is that they were used as Buddhist ceremonial wares initially in the context of Tantric Buddhism. This is the reason why wares of

351 Gray, 1941, p. 54.
352 Gray, 1941, p. 54-55.
353 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 76-77, pl. 1.

basically similar shapes can be found in Tibet, the Yuan and the early Ming dynasties. In the process, regional differences due to various environmental conditions may have occurred.

Tankards

Tankards found in underglaze blue wares consist of a round body, a cylindrical neck and an exaggerated S-shaped handle attached to the body. This type of vessel is mostly found in Yongle and Xuande wares. White porcelain tankards were excavated at the Yongle stratum of the Zhushan kiln sites.[354] One such example is found in a underglaze blue tankard, from the Yongle period,[355] On the handle of this tankard, on an animal which resembles either a dragon, a snake or a phoenix-like creature modelled in high relief. Among Xuande examples is a underglaze blue tankard decorated with floral patterns in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei (pl. 12).[356] As Geng Baochang notes, in the Yongle examples, the animal motif was often simplified while in many Xuande examples, it was elaborately drawn.[357]

As pointed out by Jenyns, many scholars have noted the existence of very similar West Asian metalwork objects which are dated later than the Chinese tankards. Clearly, the origin of the Chinese tankard shape is a subject of some debate.[358]

A number of scholars believe that wares of this type probably existed in an earlier period of Islamic metalwork. Pope suggests that the form goes back to around the eighth century in the Near East, referring to two examples, one from the Caucasus in glass, and the second, a crystal jug from Egypt. Persian potters used this form widely as early as the tenth century.[359] Jenyns also states that the same shape of tankard, without a handle and with identical decoration, is found as early as 1461 in Venetian metalwork. This in turn was probably

354 Liu, 1996, pl. 90.
355 Geng, 1993, p. 26, pl. 40.
356 *Gugong cangci qinghuaciqi,* vol. 2-1, 1963, pl. 19.
357 Geng, 1993, p. 25.
358 See Reitlinger, 1948, p. 63; Jenyns, 1988 (first published 1953), pp. 87-88.
359 Pope, 1956, p. 88.

derived from a Persian shape at the beginning of the fifteenth century or earlier since Venetian metalworkers came from the Islamic world.[360]

It is not certain exactly how this type of ware was passed to the early Ming imperial court. Yet the Tibetan text again gives important evidence that it was also deployed in Buddhist ceremonies. Although the "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can*" does not list wares of this exact type, it is possible through a close examination to find similar ware-shapes. According to the ritual cycle, *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags'bar-ba,* which belongs to *Gro-lod,* 'a container of items' should be burned in the *homa* rites, and wares of a similar shape to tankards are required (pl. 13).[361]

Large plates

Three types of plate exist: with flat bracket-lobed rims; with flat rims; or without rims. Apart from such stylistic details, however, all share the same basic pattern, a plate with a large diameter and voluminous side walls.

White porcelain plates are mostly found among the Yongle examples. Representative examples include a foliate white porcelain plate excavated at the Zhushan kiln sites.[362] A great number of plates are found in early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares. Among Hongwu examples are a underglaze blue plate, painted with lotus in *ruyi* clouds on a brocade-pattern ground excavated from Zhushan.[363] Among examples of the Yongle and Xuande periods are, respectively, a underglaze blue plate painted with peony and a underglaze blue plate decorated with fruits and a lotus scroll. (pl. 14).[364]

This ware-shape is one of the most representative examples inherited from the Yuan period. Yuan examples include a underglaze blue plate with petal-panel medallions and cloud panels with wave patterns[365], and a underglaze blue plate with a central lotus medallion, and bands

360 Jenyns, 1988, p.87.
361 See Karmay, 1988, p. 114-115: pl. 20.
362 Liu, 1996, pl. 115.
363 Liu, 1996, pl. 24.
364 Liu, 1996, pl. 53; pl. 54.
365 Krahl, 1986, p. 387.

of emblems, waves and flowers round the sides, both of which are in the Topkapi Saray Museum.[366]

In *gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can,* which depicts ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle, *Bla-ma rdo-rje-'chang srog-gi rgya-mdud* which belongs to *rGya-can spyi* (pl. 1 5)[367], it is observed that large plates are used as containers for ritual articles. At the centre of the altar, and just below the *mandala,* three large plates are arranged in a horizontal line.

Medium and small sized plates are also widely employed in Tibetan rituals. For example, in the empowerment ceremony of the ritual cycle, *Thugs-rje chen-po 'jig-rten dbang-pyung* which belongs to *rGya-can spyi,* a medium-sized plate at the front centre of the *mandala* is used as a saucer for a bottle which contains torma for offering. Also slightly above and on the left and right side of this dish, small-sized plates are deployed as containers of various liquids and other substances used as offerings (pl. 6).[368]

Alms bowl

From a wide-opened mouth, the body swells up to just below the mouth rim from where it narrows down forming a steep curve. In the Zhushan kiln sites, white porcelain alms bowls were excavated.[369] Representative examples of underglaze blue porcelain wares include a underglaze blue bowl with a design of lotus scrolls from the Xuande period in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei (pl. 16).[370] Liu categorises this shape as influenced by West Asian metalwork.[371]

In many rituals belongs to *gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can,* however, such types of vessel are commonly found. On the lower left and right side

366 Krahl, 1986, p. 389.
367 See Karmay, 1988, p. 107, pl. 16.
368 See Karmay, 1988, pl. 1.
369 Liu, 1996. pl. 72, pp. 39-41.
370 *Gugong cangci qinghuaciqi,* vol. 2-2, pl. 32. 1963.
371 Liu, 1996, pp. 39-41.

of the *mandala* in *Thugs-rje chen-po 'jig-rten dbang-phyung* cycle, which belongs to *rGya-can spyi*, a skull-cup containing medicinal liquid (*sman*) and another containing blood (*rakta*) appear very similar to the alms bowl shape (pl. 6).[372] The only difference is the S-shaped cut mouth rim in the skull-cup.

In the manuscript illustrating various types of *torma* representing *dPal-lan lha-mo* and her four attendants, which belong to the group *dMag-zor*, a similar type of vessel is depicted at the front of the altar and is used as container (pl. 17).[373]

Small jar

The small jar with a round body has a straight mouthrim and a splayed foot. Representative examples include a white porcelain jar from the Yongle period excavated at the Zhushan kiln sites, and an example of a underglaze blue small jar decorated with lotus scrolls and a fish motif (pl. 18) from the same period listed in *Ming Qing ciqi jianding*.[374] Among Xuande examples is a underglaze blue small jar decorated with *lingzhi* scrolls excavated from the Zhushan kiln sites.[375]

No special analysis has ever been made as to the derivation of this type of vessel. However, except for the relatively closed mouth and straight mouthrim, this type of jar is very similar to alms bowl in the Tibetan Buddhist painting, '*Shakyamuni* Buddha with Two Disciples and the Eighteen Arhats' from the Central Regions of Tibet and attributed to the mid-fifteenth century in the collection of British Museum,[376] the *Shakyamuni* in the centre holds a blue alms bowl, the shape of which is similar to those excavated at the Zhushan kiln site (pl. 19).

Group IB: ewers

Various types of ewer exist in early Ming imperial blue-and-white wares. They include monk's cap jug and pear-shaped ewers, and

372 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 76-77, pl. 1.
373 See Karmay, 1988, p. 128, pl. 28.
374 Liu, 1996, pl. 13, pp. 39-41; Geng, 1993, p. 7, pl. 43
375 Liu, 1989, pl. 86.
376 *The Sacred Art of Tibet*, 1996, pl. 3.

wares. They include monk's cap jug and pear-shaped ewers, and those with heart-shaped panels. These vessels share common characteristics, having oval-shaped bodies and cylindrical necks. Their spouts appear to be similar to either the head of a bird, a dragon or a phoenix, or a mystical beast which resembles an animal combining a dragon, snake and crocodile. This type of animal is called a *makaras* and often appears in Tibetan thankas. In fact, it is a composite beast with elephant, crocodile heads and fish bodies. The handle looks like a neck of such an animal. In some cases, the spout and handle shapes are simplified. All these features are documented in *gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can* or thankas of Tibetan Buddhism as will be analysed in the following.

Monk's cap ewers

The spout of this type of ware shape forms a sharp triangle which looks like a beak, and the mouth rim makes a three-layered band in the form of moulded metalwork. They are placed on the top of the long and wide cylindrical neck supported by a bulbous main body. The end of the mouth rim near the handle is pointed sharply upward. In the upper part of the handle, a small u-shaped panel is attached.

The beak-shaped spout together with the layered mouth rim is shaped like the profile of a *makaras*. An s-shaped handle with a u-shaped panel attached also resembles the neck of this type of animal. Among examples of this type of blue-and-white ewer are a monk's cap jug decorated with *baoxianghua* 寶相華 (Precious Visage Flower) scroll from the Yongle period in the collection of the Idemitsu Museum of Arts,[377] and another decorated with a dragon and *baoxianghua* scroll of the Xuande period excavated from Zhushan (pl. 20).[378]

Based upon the Eight Buddhist emblems or Sanskrit inscriptions adorning many of the monk's cap jugs, Brankston considers that these wares were employed at Buddhist altars.[379] According to Jenyns,

377 *Koteino jiki*, 1983, pl. 220.

378 Liu, 1989, pl. 62.

379 Brankston, 1938, pp. 27-28. Gray also offered the same opinion; more recently Liu Xinyuan expressed a similar view. Gray 1941 p. 56; Liu, 1989 p.

however, the Chinese themselves think that the origins of the monk's cap ewers are found in Mongol influences. Yet, he also thinks it possible that these metal shapes could have been copied by the Chinese from Persian gold vessels, the originals of which were subsequently melted down.[380] The exact origin of wares of this shape is not yet clear. Quite recently, Lau has pointed out that monk's cap jugs were used in Buddhist ceremonies given that there are ewers resembling this type still being used in Buddhist monasteries in Tibe t.[381] In addition, Liu suggests such jugs were used as Buddhist ceremonial wares since Buddhist scripts are painted.[382]

The "*gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can*" evidently shows that monk's caps jugs were manufactured according to Buddhist ritual codifications. In this manuscript, monk's cap jugs are used as containers for items to be burned according to the ritual cycle, *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ca* which belongs to as can be observed in pl. 13.[383]

Pear-shaped ewer

The main part of this type of ewer has a widely splayed body towards the foot, eventually creating an oval form. Each end of an exaggerated S-shape handle is attached to the lower part of the mouthrim and the middle of the main body, and a long, smoothly curving spout stems out from the area below the mouth.

Representative examples include: a blue-and-white ewer painted with chrysanthemum from the Hongwu period;[384] a blue-and-white ewer painted with peach decorations; a blue-and-white ewer painted with loquat and peach and an ewer with flower sprays decoration, all of which are from the Yongle period. Examples of each of these was excavated at the Zhushan kiln sites (pl. 21).[385] Compared to Hongwu imperial blue-and-white ewers, many Yongle and Xuande examples are

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380 Jenyns, 1988, p. 88.
381 Lau, 1994, p. *
382 Liu, 1989, p. 62.
383 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 114-115, pl. 20.
384 Liu, 1996, pl. 4.
385 Liu, 1996, pl. 57-59; Liu, 1989, pl. 80.

smaller in size and shorter in the neck. Although it is obvious that some alteration occurred in the shapes of some of the ewers of the Yongle and Xuande periods, the basic structure of the ware-shape, a pear-shaped body, a carrying spout and an S shaped handle is shared with Hongwu wares.

According to Jenyns, the Chinese believe this shape, like that of the monk's cap jug, to be of Mongol origin. As already noted, Jenyns observes that Persian gold vessels, which may have been the forebears of these wares, had been melted down.[386] Pope is of the opinion that these wares might present an adaptation of the Chinese *yuhuchunping*, which were known in the Ding, Longquan and Cizhou wares among others.[387]

Based upon the materials presently available, however, vessels of a similar shape can be found among blue-and-white wares of the Yuan dynasty. A blue-and-white pear-shaped ewer decorated with a dragon and cloud motif from the Yuan period shows the same body shape, a curving long spout, and an S-shaped handle.[388] The only difference is found in the fact that the pear-shaped body is faceted. Another similar shape is found in *yingqing* 影青 (tinted with blue) white porcelain from the Yuan. One such example is in the collection of the Art Institute, Chicago. The spout of this ewer is in relief with the head of a mystical beast which resembles *makaras*. The handle is adorned with the body of a dragon in a relief decoration.[389] It should be noted that this type of motif is often found in Tibetan Buddhist paintings. One of such examples is Shakyamuni *Buddha with Two Disciples and the Eighteen Arhats* of the second half of the fifteenth century, from Guge, now in the collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, in Richmond.[390] In the background to the Buddha, such animals are depicted and their bodies look like dragons but have the exaggerated noses of crocodile, and an upward plume (pl. 22).

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386 Jenyns, 1988, p. 88.

387 Pope, 1956, p. 87.

388 Sotheby's catalogue June 16, 1999: Fine Chinese ceramics and works of art including the McLaren Collection of Fine Cloisonne Enamels.

389 Medley, *Yuan porcelain and stoneware*, Faber and Faber, London, 1974. pl. 10.

390 *The Sacred Art of Tibet*, 1996, fig. 3. 3.2.

As was the case with the monk's cap jug, ewers of this type were employed as ritual teapots in Tibetan Buddhist rites. For instance, we can observe how they were used in rites for turning back the malefic spirits (*gtor-zlog*) and the ritual act of hurling (*zor-las*) in the *Karmaguru* cycle (pl. 23).[391] Wares of this type were therefore manufactured according to Buddhist ritual ware codification.

Pal assumes that extant examples of ewers of this type were used in altars in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, since such wares can still be found in use. This hypothesis corresponds neatly to the fact, noted above, that wares of similar shape are actually documented in Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts.[392]

Ewer with heart-shaped panels

The main part forms a round and splayed body with a short and outwardly extended mouthrim. Each side of the body is slightly faceted and forms a heart-shaped panel. This type of ewer has an exaggerated S-shaped handle, and a similarly curved long spout.

Representative examples include a white porcelain ewer, and a white porcelain vase without a handle from the Yongle period excavated from the Zhushan kiln site.[393] One of the examples of underglaze blue ware is ewer decorated with a dragon and cloud motif from the Xuande period illustrated in *Ming Qing ciqi jianding* (pl. 24)[394]

While the white porcelain example has no elaborate decoration on the spout and handle, in the lower part of the spout of the underglaze blue vessel, a mystical beast resembling a mixture of a dragon, a snake and a crocodile is depicted, and the entire handle is decorated with a dragon or snake-like motif.

The derivation of this shape has hardly been explored. We have already seen such decorative, mystical animal features in a pear-shaped

391 See Karmay, 1988, pp.158-159, pl. 43.
392 Pal, 1983, R12.
393 Liu, 1989, pls. 7, 10.
394 Geng, 1993, pl. 72.

ewer. They are also tentatively suggested in monk's cap jugs. Both of these appear to have been manufactured in accordance with Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial specifications.

In the Tibetan manuscript, *gSang-bai rnam-rhar rgya-can,* in ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle, *Bla-ma-rdo-rje-'chang srog-gi rgya-mdud,* which belongs to *rGya-can spyi,* a bottle situated at the centre of the front row has a pear-shaped body and a dish-shaped mouth, and is engraved with heart-formed panels on the middle of the body (pl. 15).[395] The heart style panel placed at the centre is enclosed by a large panel which is again encircled by a larger one. This shape appears very similar to the porcelain ewer with heart-shaped panels. The only difference is that the one depicted in the Tibetan Buddhist manuscript does not have a handle. We, therefore, surmise that they were made in accordance with Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial specification.

Apart from the vessels hitherto analysed, we need to pay attention to one important example which supports the significance of a dragon, a bird, or a phonenix-like animal in Tibetan Buddhism. In a underglaze blue water dropper excavated at Zhushan (pl. 25), the upper part, along with the cover, forms a mystical beast, a composite creature with the head and wing of a bird, and a dragon or phoenix shape.[396] The neck of this creature forms the handle, and its extended tail winds over the entire surface of the main body. Although the origin of this type of vessel has not been discussed, its derivation can be found in the Tibetan manuscript. In *mandala* and the ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle, *Nagaraksa 'og-gdon mtharbyed* which belongs to *rGya-can spyi,* a vessel is being used as *torma* for offering: a red bottle is located on the top of the lotus throne contained in a large plate. On the side of this bottle, a bird's head serves as a spout; on the other side, a snake's body forms the handle (pl. 26).[397] From the mouth of the bottle, a number of snakes spring out. Furthermore, although the specific details are not elaborated, other bottles placed around the *mandala* have similarly widely S-shaped handles and spouts, which appear as a simplified

395 See Karmay 1988 p.107, pl. 16.
396 Liu, 1989, pl. 45.
397 See Karmay, 1988, pl. 15.

form of such decoration. Although the spout of the bottle illustrated on the Tibetan manuscript resembles the head of a bird, while that on the underglaze blue vessels is more like a dragon, the two types of vessel share basically similar elements.

The ewer in the Tibetan Buddhist manuscript is elaborately decorated in five different colours, depicting snakes, a bird, and the lotus throne on which the ewer is placed. The main body of the bottle is also decorated with a lotus flower, all of which shows that this particular vessel is of great importance.

Among underglaze blue bottles from the Yuan dynasty is one decorated with the head of an animal which resembles a dragon, a bird or a phoenix. One half of the bottle is covered with a painting of a wing, while the rest is decorated with floral scrolls.[398] Another similar example is a underglaze blue ewer in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.[399] The spout is modelled as a bird's head and the upper part of the main body is covered by a painted wing. These examples clearly illustrate the connection of such motifs to Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial specifications.

Another representative example has a Xuande mark (pl. 27) and is found in the collection of the British Museum. This is debated by Gray as an example of wares influenced by Islamic metalwork.[400] This ewer has a round, full, oval body, a slender long cylindrical neck and an S-curved spout, and a geometrically angled handle. Both the spout and handle of this bottle exhibit an exaggerated S-shaped curve, and show typical features of the above group of ewers. The handle at each corner of the S-shape curve is geometrically transformed into a straight line.

This type of vessel is one of the commonest ewers observed in Tibetan manuscripts and in Tibetan Buddhist paintings. The only difference lies in the fact that while in this underglaze blue example, a handle is attached, no handle appears in similar vessels documented in Tibetan Buddhist painting. The Tibetan manuscript, *gSang-bai rnam-rhar*

398 Yoshiaki, 1974, p. 41.
399 Yoshiaki, 1974, pl. 40.
400 Gray, 1941, p. 51, pl. 6-e.

rgya-can, depicts a *mandala* and ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle, *Nagaraksa 'og-gdon mtharbyed*[401] In this scene, particularly, at the centre of the *mandala*, this type of vessel is used, as well as at other places around the *mandala* (pl. 26).[402]

9. 2 Group II

There are some examples of imperial underglaze blue vessels which it is not possible to document. While similar types of vessel are found in Tibetan Buddhist paintings, the exact types do not appear. However, similar types of vessels are found in pre-Yuan China, and similar shapes appear in West Asian metalwork. Such is the case with *bianhu* flasks, ewers with cylindrical necks and short spouts, basins, and flasks with cylindrical necks and handles decorated with monster motifs.

bianhu pilgrim flask

The flask has a flattened rounded body, and usually stands on a shallow rectangular footring. White porcelain examples without a foot ring were excavated from the Yongle stratum of the Zhushan kiln sites. This type of vessel generally has no decoration. However, late Yongle flasks have an oval foot ring, and are incised with so-called Islamic decorations, similar to those on Xuande underglaze blue wares.[403]

This type of vessel is not commonly found among underglaze blue wares from the Hongwu period. There is, however, one extant example of a underglaze blue flask decorated with a dragon and cloud motif.[404] A variety of flask-shaped vessels survive from the Yongle and Xuande periods. Representative examples include a underglaze blue flask painted with an Islamic floral design from the Yongle period (pl. 28), and another, similarity decorated, from the Xuande period.

401 See Karmay, 1988, pp. 104-5, pl. 15.
402 See Karmay, 1988, p. 104, pl. 15.
403 Liu, 1996, pl. 91.
404 Geng, 1993, p. 12, pl. 13.

Both of these were excavated from the Zhushan kiln site.[405]

Gray suggests that, although some flasks are found in the Tang and Song periods, this specific shape apparently first occurs in fifteenth century underglaze blue wares during the early Ming dynasty.[406] He believes they derived from the metalwork of the Near East, being fairly similar to the flasks of Western Iran dating from the fourteenth and sixteenth century. Although the main body is rectangular with a rounded shoulder, the basic flask shape also appears in vessels from the Yuan dynasty. Such features are observed in a underglaze blue flask decorated with a dragon and cloud motif formerly in the collection of Sir Harry and Lady Garner,[407] and in similar vessels found in the collection of the Ardebil Shrine.[408]

In *Great Adepts Virupa, Naropa, Saraha, and Dombi Heruka,* an eighteenth century Buddhist painting from Eastern Tibet in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, an object of similar shape to the square-shaped Yuan underglaze blue vessel can be seen. In the lower right side of the painting, Virupa is surrounded by wine jars and bedeck in garlands of flowers and a yogic meditation strap (pl. 29).[409] Among the wine jars is a hexagonal flask with two decorative handles on the left and right shoulders, which appears to be made of gold. The hexagonal shape is rather similar to a square the edges of which are slightly slanted.

The features found in this type of flask are very similar to those appearing in vessels belonging to Group I. Although the shapes are not exactly the same, the prototypes are found in Tang and Song vessels. However, vessels of such shapes suddenly became popular during the Yuan or early Ming dynasties. Similar vessel shapes are documented in Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts and paintings. Given these elements, it is possible to assume that this type of flask was also manufactured in accordance with Buddhist specifications. While, I do not exclude the possibility that this type of vessel was employed in

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405 *Jingdezhen chutu Mingchu Guanyao ciqi,* 1996, pls. 65, 134.
406 Gray, 1941, p. 57.
407 Medley, 1974, pl. 44B.
408 Pope, *Chinese Porcelain from the Ardebil Shrine,* 1956, pl. 28.
409 *The Sacred Art of Tibet,* 1972, p. 154, fig. 41.

ceremonies in either Daoist or Shamanist rituals held by the court, it is certain that this sort of flask was used in religious ceremonies.

Ewer with a cylindrical neck and a short spout

Representative extant examples of this type include a underglaze blue ewer decorated with floral scrolls of the Yongle period excavated from the Zhushan sites (pl. 30).[410] Another is in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, decorated with flower scrolls of the four seasons from the Xuande period.[411]

As for the origin of this type of ewer, Pope is of the opinion that with its heavy body, abrupt shoulder and tall cylindrical neck, it is obviously based on a well-known type of Islamic ewer which was made in both metal and pottery from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.[412] Hasebe also sees this ewer as modelled upon similar metalwork.[413] Similar wares in Islamic metalwork include high-spouted water ewers of sheet brass with elaborate repousse-decoration and inlaid with silver attributed to the period between 1180 and 1200.[414] Differences can be found in the fact that the neck appears far more slender, and the wall of the main body is flattened.

Documentation for this type of ewer cannot be found, yet it shares the typical features of those so far examined: a cylindrical neck and an exaggerated S-shaped handle both of which look like simplified animal forms. In particular, the spout of this type of vessel looks like a flattened metal spout. The upper part of the spout forms a straight upward line while the lower part has an exaggerated S-shape, which appears remarkably similar to Tibetan metal monk's cap jugs still in use in monasteries. Given these elements, as is the case with *bianhu* flask, it is very likely that this type of ware was also made for use in Buddhist ceremonies.

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410 Liu, 1996, pl. 139.
411 *Gugong cangci Ming qinghua ciqi* vol. 2-2, 1963, pl. 12.
412 Pope, 1956, p. 85.
413 Fujioka (ed.), 1976, pl. 17 caption.
414 Melikian-Chirvani, 1982, pl. 45.

Such vessels as basins and hexagonal flasks with cylindrical necks and handles decorated with animal motifs cannot be found in Tibetan Buddhist paintings within the range of my examination. Yet, based upon the above analysis, it remains highly probable that they too were made for either Buddhist ceremonial or other religious uses.

Although I cannot pinpoint exactly the direct derivation of ewers, with cylindrical necks and short spouts, they are very likely to have been influenced by such religious traditions. It is quite possible that such vessels were made using metals such as gold during the Yuan dynasty but were not preserved up to the present time. On the contrary, such vessels made of porcelain during the early Ming dynasty might have survived.

As seen above, although many of those underglaze blue vessels appear to have been used as containers for food used as dedications during ceremonies, a substantial number appear also to have been used as ritual instruments on *mandalas,* as objects of worship combined with other types of vessel and as ritual instruments during both Buddhist and special Buddhist style ceremonies including *zhai.* It should also be noted that underglaze blue vessels were either used on their own on altars or at ceremonial tables, or arranged in combination with other types of vessel depends on ceremonies. It is in this context that the other types of porcelain vessel manufactured at the Zhushan kiln sites should be understood.

Yet, the number of the uses of vessels in various types of ceremony is so large that it is impossible to track them all. Many types of vessels were shared in various types of ceremonies, although the entire combination of ritual instruments in each ceremony appears different from another. Plates and various types of ewer for liquid offerings, stem cups for lamps, vases with flowers and scull cups were most commonly used in many types of ceremony. As hitherto examined, a large proportion of the ware-shapes of early Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels appear to be related to Tantric Buddhism.

We must ask why such a variety of blue decorations should come to be used in underglaze blue vessels which I have identified as

ceremonial vessels made according to the specifications of Buddhist rites, during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. We can find an answer only in the ritual principles present in Buddhism. In particular, we need to look to the practices of Tantric Buddhism, such as the hanging of blue cloths around the shoulders of vessels.

As previously stated it appears very likely that when this type of vessel was first manufactured, its uses were limited to specified functions in certain Buddhist-style ceremonies and Buddhist rituals. Yet, as time passed, it is also very likely that the range of uses broadened significantly. Additionally, it is possible that, over time, porcelain vessels decorated with blue pigment under the glaze were used at banquet tables on festive days held in Buddhist context, and in daily lives for amulet purposes since by the auspicious power by Buddha, people wished to be protected by the power of Buddha. It is also quite plausible that, already during the Yuan dynasty, this type of ware was already being employed as ceremonial vessels in other Buddhist sects and even in other religions, including Daoism and Confucianism. Examples of their use in Daoism can be seen in the inscriptions dated 1351, on the pair of underglaze blue vessels decorated with dragon and cloud motifs of the Yuan dynasty dedicated to a Daoist temple in the collection of the Percival David Foundation.[415]

In such cases, decorative designs must have been slightly modified in accordance with changed usages. Ultimately, however, it is still evident and most important to know that *the mainstream of this type of vessels maintained their Buddhist origin and nature.* Thus, major proportion of vessels were produced in accordance with Buddhist specifications. Perhaps most importantly, this practice came to the fore as a result of the availability through importation of cobalt blue pigment during the Yuan dynasty.

Production was dramatically enhanced and the quality of vessels, impressively refined, by the imperial edict of 1369, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. This commanded all ceremonial vessels to be made of porcelain and the Yongle Emperor's active employment of porcelain

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415 Medley, 1976, B 613, B 614; Yabe Yoshiaki, 1974, pp. 99-100.

vessels in important court vessels and ceremonies, probably in relation to the government's will to control the state financial situation by governing the use of metals along with strict Neo-Confucian policy initiated by the Hongwu Emperor which encouraged frugality. In fact, problems related to the mining industry in Eurasia limited the availability of metalwork in circulation and a paper money system emerged during the Yuan dynasty. It is thus highly likely that to certain extent, the policy of use of porcelain wares already common during the Yuan dynasty. However, the 1369 edict and the Yongle Emperor's attitude, must have played decisive roles in the sharp expansion of the use of porcelain vessels for important functions inside the court. Moreover, during the Yongle and Xuande periods, Tibetan Buddhism grew in favour due to the support of the Emperors. We must assume that prior to this edict, a large proportion of Buddhist ceremonial vessels for important functions were still made using other raw materials. During the Yuan dynasty, when gold was highly favoured as a material for utensils inside the court, it is more likely that most important vessels for use in Buddhist context were still made of gold. The religious practice of attaching blue cloths must have been expressed literally by tying blue cloth around the shoulders of vessels. Yet, it is also possible that substantial numbers of vessels for use in such contexts were manufactured using porcelain if they were not either those of superior function or in the case of large size vessls. After the edict of 1369, and in particular during the Yongle and Xuande reigns when the Emperors followed Tantric Buddhism, certain types of vessel, whose shapes and decorations were unique to Tantric Buddhism, emerged in underglaze blue vessels.

These underglaze blue vessels appear to have been used: at altars placed in front of Buddha in both mourning and ancestral ceremonies held regularly, including those on major festive days; during occasional, and special, Buddhist and Buddhist style ceremonies conducted for ancestors; in Buddhist ceremonies for the imperial court, the imperial family, and the state, held inside or outside the court and conducted by important Buddhist monks under imperial patronage; in Buddhist practices performed by emperors themselves; and finally, but not least frequently, at all the banquets which accompanied these ceremonies, and at the tables of the imperial family, devoted Buddhists.

A question still unanswered concerns the similarity in ware-shapes between Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial vessels and metalwork from the Islamic area. For certain reasons, in the process of establishing specifications for Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial vessels, resemblances between those two sorts of vessel must have resulted. This area of study, however, is beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

We can find examples for use of this type of vessels in monasteries still preserved. According to Chen Ching-kuang, Sakya Monastery in Tibet possesses an enamelled porcelain bowl with an inscription of the Xuande reign mark; it is adorned with a design of a lotus pond and Sanskrit inscriptions.[416] Another case which reflects the use of underglaze blue wares can be found in the discovery of this type of vessels inside the stupa located within the Hongjiao 弘覺 Monastery at Jiangning 江寧 County, Jiangsu 江蘇 Province. In the stupa, a total of four pieces of jars decorated with lotus leaves and Buddhist emblems was found. This stupa was reconstructed in 1442.[417] Significantly, those four jars were laid out surrounding a central jar which exhibits typical features of Tibetan Buddist ceremonial vessels and appears to be related to a Buddhist altar or a *mandala,* as I have hitherto explored.

As noted above, previous scholarship found it difficult to explain the sudden emergence of the use of blue colour decoration under the glaze, and ware-shapes resembling Islamic metalwork. A theory recently favoured by many scholars explains that these were introduced into underglaze blue wares for incorporating Islamic tastes under the influence of trade. However, contrary to this view, the earliest scholars, such as Pope and Gray, never argued this but instead found it rather puzzling. The results induced in the above analysis show that these elements were rooted in Tantric Buddhist rites.

The geometrical scheme of decorative design, in particular, consecutive circles and a number of horizontal bands which set spaces for decoration in both large dishes, jars, ewers and bottles, pointed out

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416) Chen Ching-kuang, 1993, pp. 102, 121

417) Geng, Baochang, 1993, pl. 115; *Wenwu cankaoziliao,* 1956, no. 11: *Cai Shuchuan, Nanjing niushoushan hongjiaosite nei faxian wenwu*

Medley and other scholars as the evidence of Islamic influence, originated in the depiction of *mandala.* *Mandala* signifies the universe and residence of Buddha. Ceiling paintings of cave temples from Tang, and Liao, Jin, Xixia, territory taken by Yuan, and *mandala* of Tibet preserved up to the present time, show that they consist of a number of consecutive circles or squares which surrounds one after another, as found on the jars and plates. This type of ceiling decoration appears to represent *mandala* since the temple itself symbolise gods' residence and the universe. In addition, the practice of distributing motifs compactly over the space, not allowing much background, can also be seen in similar decorations found on textiles, as well as in numerous types of Buddhist art from Tang, Northern Song, Liao, Jin, Xixia and Yuan dynasties.[418] The similarity is not accidental since those Buddhist practices and textiles are systematically related to a large proportion of the blue colour element and ware-shapes of underglaze blue wares in terms of Tantric Buddhist rites as I have hitherto explored.

Furthermore, recent excavation in inner Mongolia, in the Yunnezhou area, at the Yenjialing site one kilometer west of Machi Village south of Baotou city, have yielded a great number of large sized underglaze vessels in the form of jars and plates which exhibit the same features as those collected in Topkapi and Ardebile Collections.[419] Another underglaze blue plate was found at Tuoketuo in southern Inner Mongolia. Two different datings put forward. One is to view them as the products of the Southern Song dynasty, whilst the conventional view is that they are from the Yuan period.

Whether or not one must agree with either view is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Furthermore, recent excavations of a number of hoards in various places in China also show that this type of vessels

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418) Heekyung Lee, 2000,
Yuan and Early Ming Blue-and-white Wares," Also refer to *Proceedings of the Society for East Asian Archaeology Conference,* Durham, 2000, p.45. I particularly appreciate a ceramic specialist, Dr. Andrew Maske in Peabody Essex Museum, who gave me an opportunity to present this paper at the World Conference of the Association for East Asian Archaeologists. I also express my gratitude to Dr. Magnus Fiskesj, Director of the Museum of Far Eastern Art at Stockholm who attended my presentation and recommended that I send my article to the *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.*

419) Li Yiyuo, 1988; Liu Huan-zhen, 1989.

has widely used inside China as well as sent as having been to Islamic lands. These include a large jar, an octagonal facetted *meiping* bottle and an ewer recovered from a hoard found in Hebei Baoding 保定 City now collected in the Gugong Palace Museum, Peijing. There are numerous cases of other discoveries of massive sized underglaze blue wares of the Yuan and early Ming dynasties either in tombs or hoards inside the China.

One of the earliest vessels presented as an official gift to Korea from Ming China, which still maintained substantial parts of Yuan custom, was a huge sized wine vessel for state banquet use made using underglaze blue porcelain. The title of the vessel is recorded in *Sejong Sillok* as *Chuhae* 酒海 which means "sea [container] of wine," and the size appears to be indeed very large. The vessels were used as wine reservoirs during banquets; From these, wine was poured into smaller ewers for serving at the tables. These vessels seem to show the convergence of both the tradition of Central Asia and Tantric Buddhism.[420]

In particular, as pointed out above, since during the Yuan dynasty, gold and silver vessels were relatively freely used inside the court, it is very likely that the most important vessels were made using gold, silver or other types of precious materials. In any case, it is possible that more large sized vessels were made using ceramic wares. Even when vessels were required, either in religious ceremonies or banquets for religious festive days derived in Buddhist context and held at or sponsored by the imperial court, more precious materials were likely to be used upon which blue colour textiles were tied, in the place of utmost importance. As stated earlier, even during the Yuan dynasty, however, problems caused in relation to gold and silver were quite serious. When large sized vessels were necessary as reservoirs of food or as ceremonial instruments, but not as vessels actually used at the tables, it is likely that underglaze blue porcelain vessels were used. The use of this type of porcelain wares, however, was altered to more important uses when the early Ming Emperors pursued the policy of restricting the use of metalwork even inside the court. Given such

420) Further discussion on the reason behind the large size of vessels present in underglaze blue wares will be soon published in an independent article.

situations during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties, it appears natural that vessels presented as official gifts were made using ceramics rather than gold and silver.

As claimed by a number of scholars, it is, thus, very likely that many such underglaze blue vessels were ordered by the imperial house for the purpose of gifts to the sovereigns of Islamic countries and elsewhere, as well as for certain functions during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties. Since such official imperial trade with Islamic states, Southeast Asian countries and Korea during the time frame between the beginning of the dynasty to the early fifteenth century must have contributed to the production of goods for Ming imperial court, it is most likely that such trade relationships became a very important causal factor in the expansion of the production blue wares.

PART IV

EARLY CHOSŎN CEREMONIAL VESSELS FOR USE IN THE STATE CEREMONIES AND THE ROYAL COURT

Introduction

It is generally held that the decorative motifs and styles of the earliest Korean underglaze blue vessels, those manufactured no later than around the middle of the fifteenth century, were influenced by similar Chinese Hongwu, Yongle or Xuande wares. Extant examples of Korean underglaze blue vessels which can be attributed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries number no more than forty pieces. Among these, the number of vessels which can be attributed to the earlier period is fairly limited. Several questions may be put forward as to the earliest manufacture of underglaze blue porcelain vessels in Korea. First of all, when did the production begin and which are the earliest examples? Secondly, what is the mechanism through which Chinese underglaze blue vessels stimulated the manufacture of similar types of vessel in Korea?

Contrary to the case with Chinese wares, no date inscription is to be found on most early Choson porcelain. Moreover, few of the kiln sites which are generally assumed to have been worked during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been fully and systematically excavated. This makes it very difficult to establish either an exact chronology for the many extant examples or to determine the kiln sites at which they were manufactured. In approaching the date of the earliest manufacture of Chosŏn underglaze blue wares, that of well-vitrified high quality white porcelain should first be known, since the technical achievement of the latter was a pre-requisite to the production of the former. This is because the number of sherds of underglaze blue wares found at kiln sites is extremely limited, and underglaze-blue decoration was laid upon white porcelain. Thus, establishing a chronology for white porcelain is necessary if we are to settle the most important issues relating to early Chosŏn porcelain wares.

The manufacturing centre of underglaze blue porcelain vessels was located at Kwangju 廣州, southeast of Seoul, in Kyonggi Province. On the basis of historical documents and a general survey of sherds excavated or collected from kiln sites, it is generally understood that in

Kwangju, kilns began operation no later than the early fifteenth century and continued to function up to the early twentieth century.

Two different scholarly opinions have been put forward with regard to the earliest manufacture of high-fired and high-quality porcelain vessels. In the Usanni 牛山里 and Pŏnch'ŏnni 樊川里 areas, two types of kiln existed. One type produced a large number of high-fired white porcelain vessels of coarse quality and in less-refined styles in e.g. glazes, body materials and foot finishing. In many cases, both glaze and body materials are less well refined, which resulted in a bluish or grayish tint to white surface colour of the vessels. In particular, footrims are cut roughly and the interior of the footring is unglazed. Accompanying these were largely white porcelain vessels with an iron slip inlaid decoration, and a few coarse quality celadons. The other type of kiln produced a large number of high quality white porcelain vessels, a few high quality and high-fired celadons, and underglaze blue porcelain vessels.

Chung Yangmo assumes that kilns producing coarse quality vessels were worked up to around sometime between 1424 and 1432.[421] Chung bases this assumption on the record in *Sejong Sillok Chiryji* 世宗實錄地理地 (Geographical Survey Compiled from the Veritable Record of King Sejong 世宗, r. 1419-1450), which includes data collected in the period between 1424 and 1432. This states that in Usanni and Pŏnch'onni there were kilns producing ceramics.[422] Some of the kiln sites in Usanni, P'ŏnchŏn-ni, and in a number of kiln sites over the areas such as Ojon-ri 梧田里, Tomari 道馬里, and Mukamni 武甲里 produced a large quantity of high-quality white porcelain wares incised with Chinese characters, such as *ch'ŏn* 天 (Heaven), *chi* 地 (Earth), *hyŏn* 玄 (black), and *hwang* 黃 (yellow) inside the footring, along with other types of vessels. Chung assumes that these kilns were worked immediately after those recorded in *Sejong Sillok Chiliji*. Based upon a comparison with a few white porcelains which have been securely dated, he argues that they began to work from the beginning of the reign of Kings Sejo (1455-68), and continued through the reign of King Sŏngjong 成宗 (1470-94).[423] Concerning underglaze

421 Chung, 1980, pp. 166-67.

422 *Sejong Sillok Chiryji, kwŏn* 148, *Chiryji*, Kwangju District in Kyŏnggi Province, monograph on local industry.

blue wares, Chung believes the earliest manufacture possibly began from late in the reign of King Sejong (1419-1450). He believes that the techniques for producing high quality white porcelain vessels had already been achieved by then.

It would be necessary to briefly introduce here the history of white wares before their development into high-fired, well-vitrified and high quality porcelain vessels. Some scholars believed that white wares began to be manufactured around the end of the Silla dynasty (57-935).[424] It is certain that white wares were being manufactured around the tenth century during the Koryŏ dynasty. The kilns known to produce this type of vessels are located at Yonggin County in Kyŏnggi Province.[425] During the twelfth century, this type of vessel was produced in a large scale at Yuchonni in Puan county in Chŏlla Province, and a small scale production was also carried at Satang-ni in Kangjin County.[426]

A particularly fine and delicate crazing is characteristic, sometimes, occurring in lines but often in a network; and it is evident that the glaze rarely 'fitted' the body, for it often flaked or peeled off in patches due to unequal expansion or contraction between two.
Recently kiln sites producing white wares have also been found at Sŏksudong, in Anyang County in Kyŏnggi Province.[427] According to Chung, the technical conditions of the sherds collected at the sites can be allocated at the transitional stage between Koryo low-fired white porcelain and high-fired and well-vitrified high quality of white porcelain as can be observed in Kwangju.

In addition, a picture of a wine jar decorated with a dragon and cloud motif is included in *Oryeŭi* as a vessel for use in state banquets. Moreover, the export of Chinese underglaze blue wares to foreign countries was banned from that period. He still questions whether the vessel listed in the diagram actually allows us to determine the earliest date of manufacture of underglaze blue vessels in Korea or

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423 Chung, 1989, pp. 165-66.
424) Chung, 1994, p. 413.
425) *Yongin Sŏri Koryŏ Paekchajŏn*, 1987, Samsung Cultural Foundation.
426) *Puan Yuchŏnni Koryŏ Toja*, 1983, Ewha Women's University.
427) Chung, 1994, pp. 413-16.

whether it is a vessel imported from China, Chung thinks that it may be possible that the Chosŏn government needed to make such essential vessels domestically. This is because *Sillok* states that in the coronation year of King Sejo's reign (1455), King Sejo ordered the use of underglaze blue porcelain as wine cups for Queen's residence. Therefore, Chung believes the earliest manufacture was achieved no later than 1455.[428]

In contrast, Yun Yong-i holds that the manufacture of high quality white porcelain vessels was only achieved from the second half of the fifteenth century, beginning around 1469-1470 and reaching a peak between the 1480s and 1490s. Yun's theory is based upon *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn* which was completed in 1469. In *kongjangjo* 工匠條 (section on craftsmen) included in *kongjŏn* 工典 (section on manufactures), there are records concerning innovations made in the management system for potters and the manufacture of court wares. Based upon these records, Yun proposes that the *Punwŏn* 分院 (Official Branch of the Bureau of Royal Cuisine) was established in Kwangju late in the reign of King Sejo.[429] With reference to this fact along with a few white porcelain vessels which have been securely dated, Yun also assumes that kilns manufacturing most of the dishes and bowls of high quality incised with one of the characters, *ch'ŏn, chi, hyŏn* and *hwang*, were worked from sometime in the reign of King Sejo to King Songjong (r. 1470-94), relocating roughly every tenth year.[430]

As known, *Sejo Sillok* (Veritable Record of the King Sejo's reign) records that native pigment was sought to manufacture underglaze blue porcelain vessels.[431] In addition, sherds of underglaze blue wares were collected at kiln sites which produced white porcelain wares engraved with the Chinese characters, *ch'ŏn, chi, hyŏn,* and *hwang* inside the footring. Thus, Yun suggests that it was from this

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428 Chung, 1980, pp. 175-76.

429 Yun, "*Chosŏn sidae Punwŏn ŭi sŏngnipkwa pyŏnchone kwanhan yŏn'gu*" (2), 1981, p. 55.

430 At first, Yun proposed that the Punwŏn was established in Kwangju from the reign of King Sejo. However, in a later article, he slightly modified the date of setting up the *Punwŏn* in Kwangju to sometime in the reigns starting from King Sejo to King Songjong. Yun, "*Kwangju kwanyo ŭi pyŏnchŏn'gwa chŏnghwa paekja*," 1985, p. 65.

431 *CWS*, vol. 7: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 34, p. 575, upper-b; *CWS*, vol. 8, *Yejong Sillok*, kwŏn 8, p. 421, lower-b.

period that the manufacture of underglaze blue wares began in Korea.[432]

According to the Haekang Celadon Museum, two sherds of white porcelain bowls stamped in the centre with the characters, *naeyong*, 內用 (for use inside [the palace]), were recently collected from kilns site #3 at the Usanni area. Another sherd of a white porcelain cup collected from the Usanni kiln # 4 was engraved with *nae* 內 (inside) on the outside of the vessel. It is generally thought that *nae* refers to the royal court. While these two sherds are of white porcelain, the colour of the body and glaze is strongly tinted with grey. The footrims are roughly cut and manufactured with a less-refined technique compared to the vessels inscribed with the characters *chŏn*, *chi*, *hyŏn*, and *hwang*. Porcelain vessels with such features are generally assumed to have been produced much earlier than the other group. Kim Yongwon, for example, considers them to have been manufactured between 1389 and 1417.[433] As can be seen, the earliest date for the manufacture of high-quality white porcelain and underglaze blue wares is still open to debate.

How, then, can we understand the process through which Chinese underglaze blue wares stimulated the production of similar types of vessel in Korea? First of all, scholars generally held that it was through the gifts including underglaze blue wares from Chinese Emperors to Choson sovereigns as recorded in *Sejong Sillok*. Secondly, in the case of a underglaze blue jar decorated with a dragon and cloud motif illustrated as a state banquet wine jar in *Oryeŭi*, scholars also pointed out that some underglaze blue porcelain jars decorated in this way were modelled upon Chinese similar wares intended for use as wine vessels in state banquet ceremonies. Nevertheless, as stated above, some scholars, including Chung, are not sure whether the jar was of domestic manufacture or imported from China. Yun believes it was an import from China. Evidently, the provenance of such objects has not been settled. On the other hand, the majority of underglaze blue wares generally attributed to the fifteenth century are decorated with lotus scroll designs. Except for those decorated with

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432 Yun, 1985, pp. 65-67.
433 Kim Yongwon, 1995, pp. 73-74.

a motif combined with a dragon clouds, scholars have generally believed that most Korean underglaze blue wares were made as wine vessels for use in private banquets held inside the royal court; their designs were modelled upon similar Chinese vessels.

As I have explored in Part I, II and III, in the case of certain types of wares used in the imperial court in traditional Confucian China, the designs of vessels were not arbitrarily adopted according to the user's taste. They were strictly prescribed according to Confucian-style rites. The Five Rites, as well as court rites, were a very important means of demonstrating the absolute authority of a sovereign and his court. On the other hand, there also exist Buddhist ritual vessel specifications and they too were related to court wares. A great number of early Ming imperial underglaze blue vessels were manufactured in accordance with Tantric Buddhist specifications.

Thus, in regard to the vexed question of the exact date of the earliest manufacture of both white and underglaze blue porcelain vessels, and a mechanism through which Chinese underglaze blue vessels stimulated the manufacture of similar types of vessel in Korea, it is my contention that we need to change the vantage point of view, and approach the question in terms of *rites*.

Let us therefore turn to the exploration of the rites background to the earliest manufacture of Choson porcelain vessels. It should be seen that, first of all, during the early Choson dynasty, the use of vessels in state ceremonies and inside the court was based upon rites. It is, thus, essential to examine the ceremonies and practices held by the state or inside the court and to explore the specifications laid down within their rite systems.

As shown in Part III of this dissertation, although some Ming underglaze blue wares were also manufactured as vessels for use in Confucian-style ceremonies, the mainstream underglaze blue wares had a close connection with Buddhist rites. I intend to show in Part IV that most underglaze blue vessels were initially manufactured in accordance with ceremonial specifications for specific uses. More specifically, I will show that the blue colour and the lotus scroll motif, the dominant motif in early Choson underglaze blue wares, bear a

close relationship with specifications for Buddhist rites.

Richer documentary sources are, however, available concerning white porcelain wares, since these were more frequently made for use in Confucian-style sacrificial ceremonies or practices. Given the complexity of this picture, we need to focus initially on white porcelain ceremonial vessels used in the early Chosŏn dynasty. An analysis of the mechanisms which provided the stimulus to the production of high-quality, well-vitrified white porcelain wares, and the subsequent evolution of such wares can also provide important reference points for our analysis of underglaze blue wares in Part V.

Confucianism and state rituals were greatly emphasised from the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty. The most important reason for this emphasis on Confucianism was that Chosŏn was established with the support of Neo-Confucian scholar-officials of the late Koryŏ dynasty (918-1391). From, perhaps, King Ch'ungyŏl's reign, Confucian studies developed rapidly. The National Academy (Kukhak) and the National Shrine to Confucius (Munmyo) were rebuilt, and Confucian studies received strong support from students. Although belles-lettres and philosophical glosses had hitherto been emphasised, scholars now paid attention to the substansive study of the Chinese Classics and histories. A Superintendency to teach Classics and Histories was even created. King Ch'ungyŏl's (1274-1308) pro-Neo-Confucian attitude was also a contributing element in this development. Accompanied by such Koryŏ figures as Yi Che-hyon, he associated with Yuan scholars and greatly contributed to the introduction of Neo-Confucian studies to Koryo. This new trend of Confucian studies provided intellectual fulfillment to new literati class of that time. The growth of Neo-Confucian philosophy eventually brought in its train a growing repudiation of Buddhism,[435] and exercised significant influence over the wider society. According to Martina Deuchler, the transformation of Korean society during th early Chosŏn dynasty was not just a reform in the conventional sense but was a massive shift of Korean society away from the culture of Koryŏ (935-1392), through the application of Neo-Confucian concepts and values and a unique experiment in social engineering.[436] The

435) Lee Ki-baik, p. 165-6.

establishment of the Chosŏn dynasty was a moral and intellectual venture that set out to prove itself by transforming Korea into a Confucian society. Neo-Confucianism added to Korea's socio-political thought a new and comprehensive dimension, and provided the universalistic basis upon which the state itself rested.[437] The Neo-Confucians saw the deterioration of the Koryŏ society, in which Buddhism had taken a strong foothold, and intended to renew the society through the articulation and implementation of Neo-Confucian principles. In this reorganising the society, the Neo-Confucians used rites in other words, *Ye* 禮, proper ritual behaviour.[438] However, differences between Ming China and Chosŏn Korea came to be asserted and expressed in the concept of national tradition. The awareness of unique national characteristics was supported and confirmed by traditions that justified Korea's selective borrowing of ancient institutions and also provided a framework within which the acculturation process could be understood.[439]

The impact of Neo-Confucianism upon the arts of the Chosŏn dynasty has, to some extent, been known. Yangban of the dynasty held the view that art was what artisans produced, not something that yangban should turn their hands to. In painting, under the influence of Neo-Confucianism, the Confucian literati class sponsored a genre of paintings, so called, "literati paintings," which employ ink and brush, and describe the "image of mind set" rather than the actual object. In ceramics, in the early Chosŏn period, pieces called punch'ŏng were produced, like Koryŏ celadon only with a glaze that had evolved toward an ashy blue-green tone. Eventually, this type of vessels were gradually replaced by white porcelain, a genre that departed from the smoothly curved shapes of Koryŏ celadon in favour of simple, warm lines. This type of vessel is acknowledged as a more practical ware than its predecessor, the very decorative nature of Koryŏ inlaid celadon, and that give the viewer a sense of white ranging from pure white to milky to grayish hues and to constitute a fitting expression of the character of yangban literati,[440] though the specific relationship and

436) Deuchler, 1980, pp. 71-109.
437) Deuchler, 1980, p. 73.
438) Deuchler, 1980, pp. 75-83.
439) Deuchler, 1980, p. 96.
440) Lee Ki-baik, pp. 197-8

significance of white expression has never been explored.

The project of devising their own state rites was essential for the newly established Chosŏn dynasty whose official ideology was Neo-Confucianism.

If the state ideology of Korea was shared with that of Chinese, and thus rites originated in China were also employed during the Chosŏn dynasty, it would be natural to think that vessels for use in high society, in particular, those for state ceremonies and the court, during the early Chosŏn dynasty were of the same type as those used in Ming China. But are they the same? As will be analysed in the following chapters, they show many differences, while sharing some similar features. I contend that this can be explained by differences in intellectual atmosphere, political conditions and economic situation between two cultures.

In the case of China, in Part I, I have already explored that a number of different commentaries put upon the content of Classics, accordingly a number of different interpretations also exist. Such is the case too with vessel rites for use in state ceremonies. In particular, those based upon a philological approach, and empirical analysis, as seen in Neo-Confucianism, resulted in very different types of vessel system.

As will be detailed in the following chapters, this research shows that there are several reasons why Chosŏn did not imitate contemporary Ming state ceremonial vessels. Firstly, as *Oreyŭi Sŏrye* (Preface to *Oryeŭi*) states, this can be attributed to the rituals of the Koryo dynasty to which the Choson rite officials turned. Secondly, based upon numerous records in *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty), we can see the difficulty in obtaining ritual texts used at the early Ming imperial court. Thirdly, it may be connected to the hierarchy defined in the context of rites. For Chosŏn, an important consideration in the devising of its own rites might have been the need to acknowledge the hierarchical system of international relations within which the state had to operate. Textual sources shows that Chosŏn sovereigns and rite officials often appear to have been concerned to employ the same rituals as those used in the Ming imperial court. It is often the case that certain types of ceremonies

and manners of rituals were reserved for the imperial court. The imperial court in China tended to discriminate in favour of their own rites in preference to those of others, for demonstrating the authority of Emperor's state.

However, there are some cases in which Chosŏn imitated Ming vessels. For certain elements of rites for which details were not specified, or for those which were used in diplomatic occasions in relation to Ming, it appears that contemporary Ming rites were referred to.

For example, as will be detailed in Chapter 12, the following case shows the overall concerns the Koreans had in designing their vessels. The practice of using contemporary type of vessel as daily offering vessels at *yuanmiao* shrines at the early Chosŏn royal court inherited from similar Koryŏ rites which had been influenced by those of Chinese. However, the employment of "white porcelain" wares of superior quality were influenced by similar Ming rites. It emerges that Chosŏn replaced the gold and silver vessels so far employed, with porcelain wares, in order to keep the balance of etiquettes. Chosŏn mornarchs did neither desire to put themselves in a position superior to Chinese Emperors, nor want to lose authority and respect in international society.

This present study on vessels and applied arts from the medieval and early modern China and Korea, was conducted independently from any reference to early Chosŏn music studies, and began with the analysis of vessels from early, medieval and early modern China, proceeding to those of early Chosŏn Korea. However, among the results of my analysis to be introduced in the following chapter, many appear to be parallel to those obtained by music studies.

In a Confucian state, music was a vital component of statecraft. Thus, the arrangement of musical texts became a major task of the early Chosŏn dynasty. Since a genre which can be placed under the category of ceremonial music at the royal court was recorded in state rites, studies on ritual music are quite advanced. One of the earliest such studies was conducted by Robert C. Provine.

According to Provine, the Chosŏn rite officials chose from among

different types of Chinese sources for ritual music. He shows that, contrary to the wide belief that Korean intellectual history of the fifteenth century is dominated by Neo-Confucianism, the Koreans critically and selectively discarded the melodies recorded Chinese Neo-Confucianist, scholars. The Koreans instead turned to numerous other sources in Song and earlier dynasties, not, therefore, necessarily Neo-Confucian sources, and also to antiquity, through the Yuan and Ming. In fact, according to this study, the Koreans' consultancy of Chinese sources were not consistent. The Koreans referred to both Neo-Confucian sources and those which have a contradictory view to Neo-Confucians'. Provine illustrates serious the practical problem of the paucity of materials, the Koreans being limited to the few sources they had available in official libraries. He also assumes that Koreans did not refer to early Ming musical sources probably because they were concerned to be seen proclaiming that knew better than emperor.[441]

As shown in the cases of both state ceremonial vessels and state ceremonial music, there appear to be several conflicting attitudes towards contemporary Ming rites: while Chosŏn endeavored to obtain Ming imperial ritual texts, in many cases, Chosŏn avoided emulating Ming imperial ritual; At the same time, in certain occasions, Chosŏn referred to Ming rites, whilst in others, they not only repudiated then, but also critised them as inadequate.

Such a contradicting attitude towards Ming rites can be related to the political situation of the early Chosŏn court, and its diplomatic relationships with Ming. From the beginning of the newly established Chosŏn dynasty, Neo-Confucian officials were dependent on the authority of, and had close diplomatic relationships with, the newly-born Ming dynasty. The Neo-Confucian officials turned against the Yuan dynasty which politically controlled the Koryŏ dynasty, in favour of supporting Ming. They finally overthrew the Koryŏ dynasty, claiming that Ming was the orthodox inheritor of Han China. Government policies were pursued in line with Ming political and administrative models, driven by the influence of Neo-Confucian scholar-officials.[442]

441) Provine, 1988, p. 103.
442 Lee, Sang-paek, 1962, p. 26.

In the course of usurping, Yi Sŏng-kye needed to confer legitimacy on the authority of the new dynasty in China, Ming. Yet, from the beginning, Ming never easily acknowledged the legitimacy of Yi. *Da Ming Huidian* recorded Yi as the son of the notorious, and anti-Ming, Yi In-im.[443] Nevertheless of the repeated requests for the correction, the long held Ming misapprehension was not settled until 1584 when a new edition of *Da Ming Huidian* inserted a foot note for the correction.[444]

Types of ceremonies, the manner of conducting such ceremonies were all differently specified in accordance with the people in the hierarchy of the holder. Furthermore, as will be detailed in the following chapter, from the beginning of the dynasty, this difficult relationship appears to have driven Chosŏn to pay extra attention to handling the matter of balancing rites and etiquettes between the two countries in the context of an international hierarchy. Avoiding conducting certain rites claimed by the Emperor must have been wise. According to Son Pokee's recent interpretation, the ideology and logic of the Choson Neo-Confucian literati class in Chosŏn also worked as an important element in directing the design of Chosŏn rites. What was their logic? In Neo-Confucianism, Zhu Xi employed the concept of Rectification of Name to authorise the legitimacy of the Chinese dynastic line. With this concept, the Neo-Confucian literati class interpreted the position of the Choson King as the Mandate of Heaven to rule Korea, but with no parallel authority and prestige to communicate with Heaven, as had the Chinese Emperor.[445]

One of the examples of a rite for where construction such a concept was applied is that for *jiaosi*. The Minister of Rites, Cho Pak 趙璞 opposed the Choson monarch to conduct *jiaosi* ceremonies, claiming

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442 Lee, Sang-paek, 1962, p. 26.

443) *Da Ming Huidian, juan* 105, p. 2. For further account this controversy, refer to Deuchler, 1980, p. 87. Research on the controversy over the revision of the *Da Ming Huidian* from a Chinese point of view, see L. Carrington Goodrich, "Korean Interference with Chinese Historical Sources," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 68 (1937): 27-29. Quoted from Deuchler, 1980, footnote 47; also refer to Lee Ki-baik, p. 189.

444) For further details, refer to Deuchler, 1980, foonote 47; also refer to Lee Ki-baik, p. 189.

445) Son, p. 8

that only the Emperor was in a position to do so.[446] As Son points out, the Chosŏn dynasty had to face diplomatic difficulties with the Ming Emperor as well as the legitimacy problem of the offering Prayer to Heaven, at the same time. Despite his commitment to the royal cause, the Minister of the Board of Rites, repudiated the Prayer to Heaven by the monarch, calling it an imperial monopoly.[447]

The annual tribute of gold and silver to China, also caused the Chosŏn government's concern in relation to the hierarchy and balance of etiquettes. As will be explored in chapter 11, King Sejong avoided to use gold and silver vessels, and had to pay a great attention to the choice of materials for vessels for use at banquets and inside the court.

However, in certain cases, emulation would have been necessary. Certain elements in ceremonies for living people, for example, those for receiving Chinese envoys or those involved in the diplomatic relationship with Ming, aimed at keeping pace with the trend of contemporary Ming rites. In particular, King Sejong paid a great attention to not being behind the trend of the time and to be seen to be equally sophisticated and refined, if not superior in conducting rites, compared to China. This is because, as mentioned above, Chosŏn Kings desired to achieve Chosŏn's own authority and to receive respect in the international society.

Why were some Ming rites repudiated? As Deuchler has pointed out, Chosŏn revered traditions and customs peculiar to the nation, and continued much of its tradition. While favouring renovating the Chosŏn society by assimilating Chinese rites and rituals, some early Chosŏn Confucian scholars were reluctant to be entirely dependent on China. Pyon Kye-ryang, for example, advocated that the Korean king show independence by conducting sacrifices to Heaven.[448]

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446) As can be seen in *Sillok*, in the eighth month of the first year of the reign of King T'aejo, Cho Pak appealed to King T'aejo to abolish ceremonies for Heaven and Earth since only Chinese Emperors could conduct them, as specified in *Liji*. For whatever reason, the ceremonies for Heaven and Earth were irregularly and rarely conducted during the early Chosŏn dynasty. *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 1, p. 26, upper a-b.

447) Son, p. 10

448) Deuchler, 1980, p. 95. Deuchler extensively discusses about the process in which early Chosŏn rites were established. She, in particular, analyses how *kuksok*, national tradition, which meant in essence that Korea had developed its own characteristic version of social organisation. This *kuksok*, a

In addition, it should also be noted that, according to *Oryeŭi Sŏrye*, Koryŏ rites, as well as Tang, Song and contemporary China were also largely referred. It appears that Koryŏ customs and rituals, which were influenced by both ancient Chinese institutions and the customs of Korea, were also largely continued in the early Chosŏn rituals.

Grasping the synthetic nature of such concerns is essential, therefore, if we are to trace the precise mechanism through which Ming influences were transmitted.

Throughout Part I, II and III, I have explored the fact that vessels were specified for both state rites, originating in ancient Chinese religion, thought and further developed by Confucian scholars, and contemporary religious rites. Given this, it appears to be evident that basic vessel designs were shared between countries rooted in such ideologies and religions. Features must have been shared over time in one individual state as far as it maintained the same ideology and religion. However, differences could also be created under the different political, social, economic and cultural conditions. I contend that the historical background which we have been briefly introduced in above explicates such conditions. Throughout the following chapters, we will analyse precisely how specific types of vessel emerged in these climates.

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distinctive combination of Chinese values assimiliated at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, and indigenous social features, had, by the middle of the sixteenth century, emerged as a coherent and well-integrated system. Deuchler, 1980, pp. 95-99.

Chapter 10

Vessels for use in Confucian-style sacrificial ceremonies

During the second year of King T'aejo's reign (1393), *Ŭiryesangjŏngsa* 儀禮詳定司 (The Office for Ritual Construction) was organized for the specific purpose of creating state rites.[448] In the fourth year of the same reign (1404), the main ancestral Hall, the *chongmyo* 宗廟 (Chinese: *zongmiao*) was constructed on the left side of the royal court. Following this, the ceremonies of the *chongmyo* were established one by one. In the second year of King Sejong's reign (1420), *Pongsangsi*, 奉常寺 (Office for Constructing Sacrificial Ceremonies) was also established for setting up ancestral ceremonies.[449] Numerous ceremonies were developed. In 1420, King Sejong proceeded to establish an institution, the *Chip'hyŏnjon* (Hall of Worthies) 集賢殿, where a number of competent scholars were charged with the study, discussion, and writing about classics, state systems and rites of ancient China and Korea.[450] In this manner, state rites were gradually designed and ultimately edited and copied into the final volume of the *Sejong Sillok* (Veritable Record of Sejong), finished in 1451, under the title of *Oryeŭi* 五禮儀 (Five Rites).

It is important to explain both similarities and differences between the rituals of Ming and those of the early Choson. According to *Kilrye Sŏrye* 吉禮序例 (Introduction to the Auspicious ceremonies) in *Oryeŭi*, the early Chosŏn rites were created on the basis of those of the Tang dynasty as well as Song, Koryŏ and Hongwu rites, contemporary Ming rites.[451]

448 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aechong Sillok, kwŏn* 3, p. 232, upper-a.
449 *CWS*. vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 7, p. 269, upper-a.
450 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 7, p. 376, upper-a, b.
451 *CWS*. vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 128, p. 176. upper-a.

10. 1. State sacrificial vessels of the early Chosŏn dynasty

Oryeŭi excluded ceremonies for *kyosa* 郊祀 (Chinese: *jiaosi*). The text does not distinguish between vessels for use in *kyosa* and *chongmyo*. All the vessels listed in *Oryeŭi* were introduced under the general title, "Chegidosŏl" 祭器圖說 (Pictures and Explanation of Sacrificial Vessels).[452] As stated earlier, it appears that Chosŏn sovereigns did not regularly perform *kyosa* ceremonies under the premise that Ming Emperors regarded only themselves as Son of Heaven as eligible to conduct the ceremonies. This can be the reason why there is no distinction between vessels for *kyosa* and *chongmyo*. Otherwise, it seems that vessels recorded in *Oryeŭi* were indiscriminately used in various types of state ceremonies, including *chongmyo*. This fact shows that by this time, Chosŏn was not much aware of the ritual vessel system based upon an empirical approach developed in China. In this system, the distinctions of the designs and materials of ritual vessels between *zongmiao* and *jiaosi* are clear.

Careful analysis shows that although a number of common features are found such as ware-shape, surface decoration and materials, many characteristics differ from those used at the Ming Imperial court. For example, *xiangzun* 象尊 (Korean: *sangjun*, a type of wine jar for use in sacrificial ceremonies), in the diagram compiled in *Da Ming Jili*, is shaped like an elephant, while that in *Oryeŭi* it is shown as a large jar with a wide mouth decorated with an elephant motif on the outer wall. Although *Da Ming Jili* describes *xizun* 犧尊 (Korean: *huijun*, a type of wine jar for use in sacrificial ceremonies) as an ox-shaped vessel, *Oryeŭi* depicts it as a large jar decorated with an ox motif.[453]

We must, then, ask the reason for this. The most important reason can be found in the fact that the texts on which *Da Ming Jili* and *Oryeŭi* are based are different. Although the rite officials who participated in reconstructing ancient ritual vessels, as compiled in *Da*

452. *CWS* vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 128, p.180.
453 *Da Ming Jili*, vol. 649, p. 107; *CWS*. vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 128, p. 184.

Ming Jili, still referred to ritual texts written in a philological way, in many cases, they consulted those based upon an empirical analysis. In *Oryeŭi*, it appears that the examples[454] were taken from a number of Tang and Song ritual texts.[455] While *Shidianyi* 釋奠儀 (Text on Ceremonies for Confucius) devised by Zhu Xi was based upon actual ancient bronze vessels, other texts referred to appear to have been written in a philological way. In particular, the reference for *sangjun* and *huijun* is *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (literally, Comprehensive Records of Affairs). In any case, constructing the design of vessels based upon classical texts is a typically philological approach while in Neo-Confucianism, reconstructions were modelled upon actual ancient vessels. Thus, differences in method, between philology and empiricism appear to have important consequences for the reconstruction of particular vessels and rites.

Why did Chosŏn and Ming choose different references? When reconstructing ritual vessels, Chosŏn perhaps referred to the Koryŏ rituals and Chinese ritual texts based on philological approach which were more influenced by philological elements of the Han and Tang dynasties, and Song period before the Daguan ritual innovation.[456]

Another reason may be that, as indicated in *Sejong Sillok* (Veritable Record of King Sejong), the Chosŏn government could not easily obtain the ritual text of the Ming Imperial court. In 1420, King Sejong ordered a government official to ask Xu Zhi 許智 in Liaodong 遼東 who was visiting the Chinese Imperial court for a copy of *Da Ming Jili*. According to this record, King Sejong had previously failed to obtain it.[457] It does not appear from the historical record that King Sejong managed to obtain this text during his reign.

Even after the publication of the *Oryeŭi*, from the reign of King Sejo to the reign of King Sŏngjong (1470-94), the work of devising and completing the details of the state rituals continued. The *Sŏrye* 序禮

454 *CWS* vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 128, p. 184.

455 *CWS*. vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 128, p. 184; *Siku Quanshu*, vol. 130, pp. 1-2.

456 In establishing *Oryeŭi*, Koryŏ rites were referred to as well as those of Tang, Song and Ming dynasties. See *CWS* vol. 5, *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 128, p. 176.

457 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 88, p. 271, upper-b.

(Introduction) to *Kukcho Oryeŭi* 國朝五禮儀 (State Five Rites), published in the fifth year of the reign of King Sŏngjong (1474), shows that the influence of Chinese Neo-Confucianism was more prevalent during this process than ever before. In this text, *sangjun* and *huijun* appear to be the same as those compiled in *Da Ming Jili.*[458] Certain types of vessel, such as *kai* 彝 (literally, wine vessel made of jade) and *kyeui* 鷄彝 (literally, wine vessel decorated with fowl), maintained the same styles that appeared in *Oryeŭi.*[460] However, given that important alterations occur in both *sangjun* and *huijun* compiled in *Kukcho Oryeŭi,* it is clear that in constructing rites, more examples were derived from an empirical approach and therefore under the influence of Neo-Confucianism. This indicates that the philological elements of Han and Tang Confucianism were gradually replaced by empirical elements which emerged after the Daguan innovation.

As stated in Part I, Song rites, under the influence of Neo-Confucianism show some differences with those of Han and Tang. As Deuchler describes, the Neo-Confucian canon was the principal philosophical ground for the new socio-political order governing according to moral principles, which commenced when King T'aejo 太祖 (Yi Song-gye, 1335-1448) ascended the throne in 1392. In particular, *Zhuzi jiali,* grew to have significant influence on early Chosŏn rites.[460]

The construction of state rites based upon a philological approach to the Classics was disputed by later Neo-Confucian scholars during the reign of King Sŏngjong. The rites were further disputed from the reign of King Chungjong (1506-44), and many were gradually modified to meet Neo-Confucian standards.[461] It would be reasonable to say such an evolution of rites was directly reflected in the use and appearance, including surface decoration, of state ritual vessels. Understanding this trend will be significant when we approach the uses and appearances of court vessels for use in important places including ancestral ceremonies.

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458 Kang and Sin et al. (ed.), *Kukcho Oryeŭi, sŏrye, kwŏn* 1, p. 373.

459 *CWS* 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 128, p. 183; *Kukcho Oryeŭi,* p. 373.

460 Deuchler, 1992, pp. 98-99. Deuchler extensively analyzed the Neo-Confucian background and the elements during the Choson period from the beginning of the dynasty.

461 Concerning the trends of Confucianism of the period, also refer to Lee, Sang-p'aek, 1982, pp. 689-691.

10. 2 Porcelain vessels for use in ancestral ceremonies for the royal family

In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Sejong (1447) white porcelain wares replaced wares made of silver for use in two shrines built inside the court Munsojŏn 文昭殿 (a shrine for Kings T'aejo and T'aejong and their consorts), and Hwidŏkchŏn 輝德殿 (a shrine for Queen Sohŏn 昭憲, the wife of King Sejong). Paek Puhum has suggested that this was due to a policy of saving on the use of gold and silver, and also to avoid exposing the use of gold and silver vessels to Chinese envoys, which might provoke a claim for the re-institution of the annual tribute.[462]

This substitution of porcelain for silver greatly contributes to our understanding of the usage of white porcelain wares inside the royal court. As will be discussed in the following chapter, we acknowledge that King Sejong did, in fact, replace his own table wares with ceramic vessels. However, we differ as to the reason behind the change. In the case of the ancestral shrines, it may neither have been due to the need to save the use of gold and silver nor due to technical advancements in the manufacture of porcelain wares. The reason ought to be sought in the process of ritual revision.

In order to understand the background to the use of white porcelain wares in Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkchŏn, it is important to investigate the origin of this type of shrine. According to *Chun'gwanji* 春官志 (Record of Department of Rites), the *honjŏn* 魂殿 (*Wonmyo*, the Korean equivalent of the Chinese *yuanmiao*) for King T'aejo was initially named Yinsojŏn 仁昭殿 (Yinso Shrine), and that for King T'aejong, Kwanghyojŏn 廣孝殿 (Kwanghyo Shrine, the spiritual shrine of King T'aejong).

In the first month of the fourteenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1432), the King ordered a government official, An Sungsŏn 安崇善, to report on the system of *Wŏnmyo* as it had been used in the past. An

462 Paek, 1988, pp. 5-6.

reported that the system originated in Jinglinggong during the Song dynasty. In the Ming dynasty, he noted, Fengxiandian had been built at the northern part of the imperial palace for the worship of previous Emperors and their consorts. In the Koryŏ period, Kyŏngnyŏngjŏn 景靈殿 (Kyongnyong Shrine) had been located in the northern part of the royal palace for a similar purpose. An suggested that Yinsojŏn and Kwanghyojŏn ought to be put together and relocated to a more appropriate place in the northern part of the palace.[463] *Sejong Sillok* (Veritable Record of King Sejong) states that the spirit tablets of the royal ancestors were relocated in a new building named Munsojŏn in the fifth month of the fifteenth year of the reign (1433).[464]

As already noted, Hwidŏkchŏn was the *honjŏn* for Queen Sohon. Following her death in the third month of the twenty-eighth year of his reign (1446), King Sejong discussed the location of a spiritual shrine for the Queen. The King wondered whether the southern part of the *osil* 御室 (a room in the centre, or a room used by the King) of Munsojŏn would be appropriate, while Chung Inji 鄭麟智 recommended the use of Popyŏngchŏng 報平聽 (Popyong Office) inside the Changdŏk 昌德 Palace. Upon this, the King ordered the repair of Popyŏngchŏng as a spiritual shrine and named it Hwidŏkchŏn.[465] Given this, it is more than likely that the Hwidŏkchŏn was established in Popyŏngchŏng inside the Changdŏk Palace.[466]

In the sixth month of the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Sejong (1447), *Sillok* notes the following:

> The King said to the Ministry of Rites, "From now on use *Paekchaki* 白磁器 (white porcelains) instead of silver wares which have been used [so far in the ritual ceremonies] of Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkchŏn.[468]

A thorough survey of *Sejong Sillok*, however, shows that the replacement of sacrificial vessels was one of the steps in establishing

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463 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 55, p. 366, lower-b.

464 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 60, p. 469, lower-b.

465 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 111, p. 662, lower-b.

466 Even accounting for the possibility of some modification of the location after the decision by King Sejong, the shrine would have been placed either i n the yard of the Munsojŏn, inside the Kyŏngbok Palace, or in Popyŏngchŏng inside the Chang dŏk Palace.

467 *CWS* vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 116, p. 25 lower-b.

detailed rites for the shrine after the death of Queen Sohŏn.[468] From the third month to the fifth month of 1447, ritual details for Hwidŏkchŏn, including major sacrificial ceremonies held on the four seasonal days and ceremonies held on festive days, were codified.[469] It was in the same year that silver vessels used at both the Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkchŏn were replaced with white porcelain wares. It is therefore clear that this replacement occurred as part of the ritual revision.

A similar case can be found in 1436 when Munsojon was relocated to a new building. Certain rites for this shrine were modified and ritual details were newly codified. King Sejong suggested to the Ministry of Rites that the wooden wares which had been used up to that time in numerous formal ceremonies held at Munsojŏn, should be replaced with red-coloured wooden wares. The reason for this revision was that he felt sorry since the etiquette of serving the ancestral spirits was unbalanced: while silver vessels were used at daily meal services at Munsojŏn, in major ceremonies held at the same shrine wooden vessels were employed.[470]

The question remains as to why silver vessels should have been replaced with those of "white porcelain," in particular? Before finding the reason behind the adoption of specifically white porcelain wares, we need to ask why gold and silver vessels were being used at this shrine? The use of gold and silver mean that contemporary types of vessel, not traditional sacrificial vessel made of bronze, were being used in ceremonies held in the Munsojon.

It is, then, necessary to pay attention to the ceremonies held during the mourning period. *Oreyŭi* records rites employed in the *honjŏn*. Such ceremonies include: *ujae* 虞齋 (ceremony conducted to console the spirit after the burial of the body);[471] *chosŏk sangsik ŭi* 朝夕上食儀 (daily

468 On the sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Sejong (1447), certain ritual details of the Huidŏk and Munso shrines were respectively codified.

469 Refer to *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 115, p. 9 upper-a; *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 115, p. 10 lower-a, p. 11 upper-b; *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 116, p. 20 lower-a.

470 *CWS*. vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 73. p. 2, upper-b.

471 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajon*, vol. 11, p. 80.

ceremony of offering meals in the morning and evening);[472] *Sasigup nap chinhyang ŭi* 四時及臘親享儀 (ceremonies for the four seasons and the third *mi* day from the winter solstice, conducted by the king);[473] *Sasigup nap sŏpsa ŭi* 四時及臘攝事儀 (ceremonies for the four seasons and the third *mi* day from the winter solstice, conducted by officials on behalf of the King);[474] and *chongwŏl* 正月, *tongji* 冬至, *sakmang sŏkjŏl chinhyang uisik* 朔望俗節 親享儀式 (ceremonies of offering incenses held in the first month, winter solstice, the first and the fifteenth day every month, and traditional festive days conducted by the king;[475] *chŏngwŏl, tongji, sakmang sokjŏl sŏpsa ŭisik* 正月 冬至 朔望 俗節 攝事儀式 (ceremonies of offering incense held in the first month, winter solstice, the first and the fifteenth day of every month, and traditional festive days, conducted by officials on behalf of the King).[476]

As *Oryeŭi* notes, great number of offerings and ceremonies were performed from the death-day to the completion of the mourning period. Amongst these, numerous *chŏn* 奠 (food offerings) were made. In most cases, after the *ujae* and *cholgok* 卒哭 (completion ceremony of wailing for mourning the deceased,[477]) the ancestral spirits were enshrined in *honjŏn*. Therefore, both *sosang* 小祥 (Chinese: *xiaoxiang*, in principle, the first anniversary of the death-day) and *tasang* 大祥 (Chinese: *daxiang*, the second anniversary) were conducted in this type of shrine.

The regular practice of dedicating daily meals specified in this type of shrine continued from beyond the mourning practices conducted immediately after the death. Therefore, contemporary type of vessels, such as bowls and dishes, must have been used. In *Oryeŭi*, the practices in *honjŏn* were listed in the section on *hyungrye* 凶禮 (funeral ceremonies and ceremonies held during the mourning period).[478] As previously stated, it appears that the use of *so* 素 materials (those

472 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p. 399, lower-a, b.
473 *Nap* means ceremonies conducted on the third *mi* day from the winter solstice. *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol 5, 1991, p. 552; *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p. 389, lower-b - 391, upper-a..
474 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p 401, upper-a - 401, lower-b.
475 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p. 401, lower-a - p. 402, lower-b.
476 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p 402, lower-b - p. 403, lower-a.
477 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 20, 1991, p. 680.
478 *CWS*. vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 134, pp. 382, 397-403.

without decoration and colouration) was one of the most important etiquette in the rites based upon the ancient Chinese model, including both funeral and mourning ceremonies. The concept of *so* was often expressed through the use of colour white.

The use of white at the early Ming imperial court has also been noted. According to *Sillok*, in the third month of the twenty-eighth year of King Sejong's reign (1446), a government official in Chiphyŏnjŏn, Kim Mun 金汶 reported that, following the death of the Empress in the seventh month of the fifth year of Yongle reign (1407), Emperor Taizong wore white robes to an official meeting with his government officials on the twentieth day of the twelfth month.[479] According to dress rites, specified in *Oryeŭi* during the mourning period, the use of clothes and utensils of "white colour" was particularly emphasized. For instance, when the Heir Apparent would carry out official duties after *cholgok* 卒哭 (completion of wailing), he should wear white robes.[480]

We should also note here *Oryeŭi*'s specifications concerning vessels for funeral and mourning ceremonies. From the time of carrying out *soryŏnjŏn* 小斂奠 (the rite of tying the body before placing it in the coffin) onwards, in every case, vessels without colour and decoration were to be used. The only exception to this rule was that gold and silver vessels were to be used for wine.[481] It is highly likely, therefore, that the use of white was also derived from this type of rite.

The, next question is, then, why whiteness should entail the use of porcelain in particular? As seen above, both *Chun'gwanji* and *Sejong Sillok* state that Munsojŏn was modelled after the system of *yuanmiao* from the Song dynasty, and that it was rebuilt inside the court in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1432). As explored in Part II, in *yuanmiao*, ceremonies were held which did not originate in the Classics. They include everyday meal services, anniversaries of death and births, as well as festive days and offerings on the first and fifteenth days of each month. Among them, contemporary types of

479 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sechong Sillok, kwŏn* 111, p. 659, upper-a - b.
480 *CWS* vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 134, p. 385 upper.
481 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kŏwn* 134, p. 383, upper-b.

vessel were used in those without ceremonies, such as everyday meal services and offerings on the first and fifteenth days monthly. From the Southern Song dynasty at Qinxian xiaosidian, *jiarenli* (private family rites) were used, which probably resulted in use of contemporary types of vessel across the entire range of practices. The Ming Fengxiandian was also modelled upon the Song ancestral shrine system. Therefore, Fengxiandian and those Chosŏn ancestral shrines were built for a similar purpose. It is important to note that there existed channels through which the styles used in the manufacture of Chinese Ming Imperial ceremonial vessels exercised significant influence upon the production of similar vessels at the Chosŏn royal court. *Oryeŭi* demonstrates that, in relation to funeral and mourning ceremonies, a number were specified in which Chosŏn hosted ceremonies held for certain deceased members of the Chosŏn royal family,[482] as well as gifts[483] and posthumous titles for deceased Kings,[484] presented by the Chinese Emperor.

In fact, according to *Sejong Sillok* of the early fifteenth century, there were occasions when the Chinese Emperor dispatched envoys to Korea to perform sacrificial ceremonies for certain persons during the mourning period. In many of these cases, Ming envoys brought food for the dedication. For example, in the entry for the twelfth day of the fourth month of the second year of the reign of King Sejong (1420) we find the following:

> Ming envoys accompanied by a musical band brought items for sacrificial ceremonies at the spirit shrine of King Sunhyo. The sacrificial food consisted of more than thirty plates...[485]

The Ming envoys were even accompanied by their own cook for this ceremony.[486] Thus, it is very likely that practices of this type became "traditional" from the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Numerous historical records also reveal that there were various occasions when Korean envoys visiting the Ming imperial court could observe ceremonies for imperial ancestors. For example, on the death of

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482 *CWS* vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p. 404.
483 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p. 405.
484 *CWS* vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kŏwn* 135, p. 406.
485 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 8, p. 279, upper-b.
486 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 8, p. 279, upper-a.

important members of the Ming imperial family, Korean envoys were invited to participate in ceremonies for the Ming imperial ancestors. *Sejong Sillok* records that at the death of the Yongle Emperor, in the ninth month of the sixth year of the reign of King Sejong (1424), the King dispatched envoys for mourning.[487] On the death of the Xuande Emperor (1435), mourning ceremonies were also performed inside the Chosŏn royal court.[488]

By this time, as has been noted, white porcelain vessels were being used in shrines for imperial ancestors in the Ming dynasty. In the sacrificial ceremonies held at Fengxiandian during the mourning period for Hongxi Emperor, white porcelain vessels were ordered to be made at the Ming imperial kiln factories. This practice was also the case for rituals held in this shrine after the mourning period. Therefore, if the Chinese envoys had brought sacrificial wares with them, they are very likely to have been made of white porcelain. Given this, it appears that in choosing materials, the Chosŏn royal court followed similar Ming rites. Contrary to state ceremonies, in the case of rituals held in *honjŏn*, raw materials for the vessels were not originally specified in the Classics, which means that they could be flexible in accordance with the situation. Thus, it is fairly likely that this matter was related to the issue of maintaining a balance in terms of etiquette and diplomacy between the Ming and Chosŏn courts. It can therefore be argued that the adoption of similar ritual systems by Ming and Chosŏn dynasties entailed the adoption of similar types of ceremony and vessel. Thus, considering the whole picture, we can understand the choice of contemporary-type vessels of white colour made from porcelain as ritual wares for use in Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkchŏn in 1447.

However, it is unlikely that the types of ceremonial vessel and the dates of their use in Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkchŏn entirely corresponded to those of Fengxiandian. For example, the fact that ceremonies are held on seasonal days in both Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkchŏn, appear similar to the practices of the ancestral shrine system during the Song dynasty rather than that of Ming dynasty.

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487 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 25, p. 621, lower-a.
488 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 67, p. 610, upper-b - lower-a

Secondly, in this type of ceremony in Chosŏn, in addition to contemporary-type vessels, traditional sacrificial wine jars were also used. For example, in the case of the spring and summer seasonal day ceremonies conducted by the King in person, the wine jars to be arranged on the left in front of the door include 1 *kyeui*, 1 *choui* 鳥彝, 2 *huijun*, 2 *sangjun*, and 2 *sanroi*.[489] These rites appear to have been rather closer to those probably practised during the Song dynasty prior to the adoption of contemporary style of robes and instruments for use in Jinglinggong, under the influence of Koryŏ rites.

Furthermore, the date at which white porcelain vessels began to be employed as ceremonial wares for use in ancestral shrines at the Chosŏn court appears to have been later than such use in the Ming dynasty. According to *Sejong Sillok*, when King Sejong, in the fourth month of the first year of his reign (1419), enquired concerning the manufacture of ceremonial vessels, Hŏ Cho 許稠, a rites official, replied that since porcelain wares were too fragile to transport, ceremonial vessels had to be made of metal purchased from the Japanese.[490] Then, what sort of sacrificial vessels were meant in this sentence? It is very important to note, here, the record from the tenth month of the same year. According to this record, King Sejong bestowed gifts on the officials involved in the manufacture of sacrificial vessels after their completion, on the thirteenth day, *kichuk* of the tenth month of 1419.[491] Several sacrificial ceremonies occurred around this date. In particular, on the second and the third days of the tenth month, King Sejong himself conducted a sacrificial ceremony in *chongmyo*, for the first time since his ascension.[492] Given this, it appears that the sacrificial vessels mentioned in the *kichuk* record could well be those for use in *chongmyo*.

Since it is very likely that the manufacture of ceremonial vessels for use in *chongmyo* was completed by the tenth month when King Sejong himself conducted ceremonies in *chongmyo* in 1419, it is highly possible that the sacrificial vessels mentioned by Hŏ Cho in the fourth month were for use in ceremonies other than *chongmyo*. For instance, a

489 *CWS*. vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 135, p. 399-340.
490 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 3, p. 311, lower a-b.
491 *CWS* vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 1, p. 273, lower-a.
492 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 1, p. 272, upper-a.

thorough analysis of historical events shows that several weeks after the King's inquiry, the construction of *chinjŏn* 眞殿 (the ancestral shrine where portraits were preserved and ancestral spirits were worshipped) of T'aejo of the Koryŏ dynasty was completed,[493] a site at which ceremonial vessels were probably required. However, the most plausible place for which those sacrificial vessels were ordered was the visit to the royal tombs on the fourth day of the fifth month for, less than one month after posing the question, King Sejong visited Cherung 齊陵 (the tomb of Queen Sinui 神懿, the first wife of King T'aejo). It should be noted that after a King ascended to the throne, there were numerous ceremonies for reporting his enthronement to his ancestors at shrines built inside the court and at royal tombs as well as *chongmyo* and to other state gods. Therefore, immediately after the enthronement, sacrificial vessels for use on various occasions by the King had to be manufactured.

It is also important to pay attention to the expression, "too fragile to transport." Does this mean transport from the kiln factories to the court? Perhaps. However, we might also consider another possible meaning: these vessels are likely to have been ordered for use in ceremonies at certain places far from the court, such as royal tombs. Given all these conditions, it is very likely that the sacrificial vessels mentioned in the record were destined for use at the royal tombs. Moreover, the record exhibits the general favouring of metalwork over ceramics in manufacturing sacrificial vessels around this time. Thus, we can know that, unlike the Ming imperial court, the Chosŏn court did not indiscriminately use porcelain as sacrificial vessels from its inception.

493 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 4, p. 314, lower-a - b.

Chapter 11

Porcelain wares employed at the Sovereign's daily table

Although white porcelain replaced metal vessels for use in Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkjŏn in 1447, questions remain unanswered concerning the reasons for adopting white porcelain wares for daily use at the King's table and the exact date when this happened. The daily use of wares at the King's table is not codified in the *Oryeŭi*. In the Ming imperial court of the Yongle period, porcelain wares were employed, including those for the Emperor's daily use. In addition, their quality and aesthetic value reached a very high level. As Korea was a Confucian country close to China, it is very likely that behind this policy of a change to white porcelain wares lay a desire to fall into line with the Ming imperial court and to maintain the standards of etiquette expected in international relations.

A few sparse but chronologically reliable reports on the manufacture of the Choson court wares are found in *Sillok*. Before analyzing historical documents, some commonly used terminology should be defined for the sake of clarity. *Sillok* and other historical documents contain a variety of terms referring to *sagi* 沙器 or 砂器 and *chagi* 瓷器 or 磁器. In these documents, the terms *sagi* and *chagi* are indiscriminately used for describing either porcelains or *punch'ŏng sagi* 粉青 沙器. *Punch'ŏng* is a type of ware which evoloved from the inlay technique of Koryŏ celadon: it appeared from the fourteenth century and completed its stylistical development during the fifteenth century. During this period, *punch'ŏng* wares were made of greyish clay tinged with black due to the imperfect washing of the clay for the body. The glaze is composed of feldspar, pine ash, limestone and clay. The decorating technique is varied and includes stamping, inlaying, sgraffiato, incising, slip painting, slip brushing and slip soaking.[494] The techniques of stamping, inlaying, sgraffiato and incising were

494 Kang Kyongsook, 1986, p. 14-15.

already highly developed by the middle of the fifteenth century while white slip painting, white slip brushing and slip soaking were perfected during the second half of the century. During the sixteenth century, white slip brushing and slip soaking techniques without design gradually replaced the other forms so as to resemble the more popular white porcelain, especially in the colour of the body materials and glazes. Eventually, white porcelain came to be highly sought after and accordingly, the manufacture of *punch'ŏng* wares was discontinued.[496]

However, no standard definitions for the use of these terms in each document are available. Only when the word *paek* 白 (white) is used in conjunction with *sagi* or *chagi*, can we be sure that it clearly indicates white porcelain. These protocols are generally accepted by scholars.

As is generally known, in 1407, his coronation year, King T'aejong decreed that the use of wares made of gold and silver was to be confined to the court, outside which, *sagi* ceramic wares and *ch'ilgi* 漆器 (lacquer wares) were to be used.[496] As pointed out by Paek, the annual tribute of gold and silver to China troubled the Korean government from 1273 when Korea was politically controlled by Yuan China.[497] The practice of paying annual tributes of gold and silver to China continued even after the Choson dynasty was established. Although one of the reasons for the decree of 1407 was to establish a social order for the newly established dynasty by using vessels based upon hierarchies, another reason might have been the saving of gold and silver. The use of gold and silver began to be particularly controlled by the Choson government, which sought to overcome the tremendous disruption of the late Koryŏ economy by means of an innovative economic policy. In coping with such difficulties, therefore, it is very likely that the Sovereign himself may have felt it necessary to show frugality.

It is necessary to examine how the policy of encouraging the use of ceramic wares developed. While King T'aejong issued a decree in his coronation year limiting the use of gold and silver to the court, King Sejong put forward a policy of conserving gold and silver by further

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495 Chung Yangmo, 1980, pp. 142-143.

496 *CWS*. vol. 1: *T'aejong Sillok*, kwŏn 13, p.384 upper- a.

497 Refer to Pak, 1988, pp. 7-11. See also Appendix A-4 and A-9.

restricting their use, even inside the court, to official belts, ladies' hair pins, and earrings of children's from the novelty class.

In 1419, *Sillok* states that as follows:

> The King delivered a message saying: "Since gold and silver are not products of our country, it is difficult to continue paying tribute of gold and silver [to China]. Therefore, it is not comfortable for me to keep using [gold and silver] for wine and daily tables of both the upper and lower classes of people. From now on, the use of [gold and silver] is banned except for the vessels to be dedicated to the court as tribute, wine vessels for court use, vessels used in banquets held for Chinese envoys, belts worn by government officials in official attire, ornamental hairpins of ladies with official titles, and the earings of people of high birth.[498]

The annals frequently record the use of wares other than gold and silver in the royal court and the central government offices. In 1413, King T'aejong ordered the governor of Chŏlla Province to offer *chagi* 瓷器 (ceramic wares) annually as a tribute.[499] In the record of 1417, in a plan suggested by the Ministry of Census and Tax Affairs for resolving the problems in managing court wares, a variety of types of vessels were already being used. According to this, *Saongbang* (Bureau of Royal Cuisine)[500] received ceramics and wooden vessels paid as tribute; Changhunggo was in charge of distributing these wares.[501] The record of 1420, made by an official in *Yebinshi* 禮賓寺 (an office in charge of banquets for guests and providing dinners for members of the royal clan and high officials[502]) shows that as vessels for use in the court, such as red-coloured wooden wares, lacquered wares and copper wares managed by their office, were purchased [from the market] every year, and ceramic wares and wooden vessels were dedicated by annual tribute [from kiln factories across the country managed by provincial government offices].[503]

In the fourth month of 1421, King Sejong ordered *Kongjo* 工曹 (Ministry of Manufacture)[504] to let the concerned officials or the

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498 *CWS*, vol. 2 : *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 3, p.296 upper-b.

499 *CWS*, vol. 5: *T'aejong Sillok, kwŏn* 26, p.17 lower-a.b.

500 For more details refer to *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 10, 1991, p. 897.

501 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 33, p.158 upper-a.

502 For more details, refer to *Kyŏngkuk Taejŏn*, 1978, pp. 64-65; *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, 1991, vol. 15. p. 762.

503 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 7, p. 373 upper-a.

individual craftsmen inscribe their names on the outer base of the vessels so that in a later inspection, the wares could be returned to any careless craftsmen for producing new ones.[505] In the third month of 1422, *Kongjo* petitioned the King to replace lacquer wares used daily in the court with brass wares since the lacquer wares were easily broken and were often taken away. This appeal was acknowledged [by the King] and was applied.[506]

In the seventh month of 1431, King Sejong asked the *Tosungji* 都承旨 (Head Secretary, official in *Sŭngjŏngwŏn*) An Sungsŏn 安崇善 to discuss with the Ministers the use of gold and silver at the reception of the Chinese envoys who were going to visit, saying: "At a banquet held for [the Chinese] envoys last year, after being exempted from the duty of paying tributes gold and silver to China, I questioned you, the Ministers, whether I should wear a robe decorated with gold and silver, some said I should wear another robe, and others said, I could keep wearing the robe decorated with gold and silver. Thus, I followed the latter opinion. This time, it is not good to have them see us keep using wares made of gold and silver, up to the present. Thus, following your advice to use plates made of red-coloured wood, I ordered the manufacture of plates of this type. However, what shall we use for a banquet to be held for [the Chinese] envoys, silver plates or red-coloured plates? Should the porcelain which was previously presented to me [by the Chinese Emperor] and mended with gold patches be used, or should we remove the gold patches only during the party held for Chinese delegates? If we are not going to show gold and silver wares to the (Chinese) envoys, then what shall we do with the golden belt worn by the government officials in their attire which will not escape the eyes of the Chinese envoys?[507]

However, the policy of saving gold and silver is not the only reason why white porcelain wares came to replace these gold and silver vessels. At the Ming Imperial court, during the Yongle reign (1403-1424), which corresponds to the early years of King Sejong's reign, the Emperor had been using white porcelain wares at his daily

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504 For more details, refer to *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn*, 1978, pp. 36-40.
505 *CWS* vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 11, p. 429, upper-a.
506 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 15, p. 476, upper-a.
507 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 53, p. 332 upper b - lower a.

table. Both the quality and techniques for the production of such vessels reached an extremely refined level. If King Sejong himself no longer felt at ease to use gold and silver vessels at his own tables after ceasing the annual tribute of gold and silver from the eleventh year of his reign (1429), while seeking to delicately balance etiquettes in international society, the best choice must have been white porcelain vessels.

For example, a record from the fourth month of the seventeenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1435) states:

> In [1435], the King ordered Secretary Sin Inson 辛引孫 to visit the headquarters of the government for a discussion: "Last time when we held a party for (the Chinese delegate) Chang Sheng 昌盛, we did not use porcelains presented by the Chinese Emperor. Chang Sheng said, "why don't you use those wares?" I answered, "since the porcelains presented are of excellent quality, but ours are of coarse quality, we were afraid that it would not be a polite thing to serve guests with wares of inferior quality while wares of excellent quality are set on the host's table". Chang Sheng replied that it did not matter at all since those porcelains were presented to me from his Emperor, and he strongly requested me to use them. Thus, I used them. After that, (on the occasion of a banquet for another Chinese envoy, Jin Man 金滿) Jin Man seemed to be displeased, seeing that I used those wares. After I explained the reason for using the wares, Jin was pleased.[508]

These passages show that it was considered proper etiquette to employ on the King's table the porcelain wares presented by the Ming Emperor to show respect to the gift during the formal banquet ceremonies held to entertain Chinese envoys. However on such occasions, those wares ought to be set on the King's table, not those of the envoys, since the wares had been specially presented to the Chosŏn King by the Ming Emperor. On the envoys' tables, porcelain wares manufactured in Chosŏn were used. Here, we can clearly see that King Sejong paid a great attention to matters of etiquette. Compared to similar Chinese wares, Korean porcelain vessels were of a rather coarse quality, which caused the King great concern. This record simply shows a special and rare case when Korean vessels had to be placed at the envoys's table while similar Chinese vessels were placed at the King's table. Although in the case of daily table wares, they were not those used in front of Chinese envoys, the general atmosphere of the period, in which balance of etiquette was

508 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 68, p. 622, lower-b - p. 623, upper-a.

respected, probably led to the choice of white porcelain vessels for the King's daily table too.

This record from 1435 also provides important information as to the earliest use of either white or underglaze blue porcelain vessels in the Chosŏn royal court. It is essential, in relation to this, to discover what is meant by the phrase "last time we held a party for Chang Sheng." The last occasion when a banquet was held for Chang Sheng would have been 1430, the twelfth year of King Sejong's reign. On this occasion, the items bestowed by the Ming Emperor included table wares and wine jars of underglaze blue porcelain.[509] Earlier, in the tenth and the eleventh years of his reign (1428-29), King Sejong had been presented with wares of white and underglaze blue porcelain along with other imperial treasures.[510]

If King Sejong who made so much of balance of etiquette allowed Korean vessels to be placed at the envoy's table, the vessels must have been those which could be the counterpart of either the Chinese underglaze blue wares or white porcelain vessels, or both. Given this, the Chosŏn vessels served for the envoys are very likely to have been similar types of vessel. If this was the case, we can assume that either or both white or underglaze blue wares were being manufactured in Korea not later than the twelfth year of King Sejong's reign (1430).

Another passage from *Sillok* clearly shows that in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1433), white porcelain wares manufactured in Korea were being regularly employed inside the royal court:

> The secretary An Sungson 安崇善 reported to the King, "As we have no money left in the reserves, I propose that we suspend the purchase of gold and silver temporarily until we become self-sufficient". Hearing this, the King ordered Sungson to discuss the matter with the members of *Uijŏngpu* 議政府 (the headquarters

509 It was delivered in the seventh month, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Sejong (1430). *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 49, p. 245, lower-b - p. 246. upper-a.

510 They include wares presented in the seventh month, in the tenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1428), *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 41, p. 138, upper-b; in the fifth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Sejong (1429), *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 44, p. 203, lower-b; in the eleventh month in the eleventh year of the reign of King Sejong (1429), *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 46, p. 204, upper-a.

> of the government) and *yukcho* 六朝 (six departments of the government)... The King said, "... a few days ago, Hŏ Cho advised that too much gold and silver in the country will arouse a personal desire for luxury. He spoke well. However, at that time we had substantial reserves. As for vessels, I have used ceramic and lacquer wares.[511]

This passage can be interpreted as follows. Upon Hŏ Cho's concern that the royal court was likely to indulge in extravagances, King Sejong noted that although previously there had been substantial reserves, he himself, was using only ceramic and lacquer wares. Considering this passage compares gold and silver to ceramic, the ceramic and lacquer vessels must have been of top quality. Thus, it is certain that a substantial percentage of those were porcelain, including white porcelain wares. In addition, given that the King's use of ceramic and lacquered wares was a result of the policy of encouraging frugality, the ceramic wares referred to were very likely to have been domestic products.

511 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 62, p. 524, lower-b - 525, upper-a.

Chapter 12

Buddhist style porcelain ceremonial vessels

12. 1 Buddhist ceremonial vessels in the late Koryŏ dynasty

It is well known that the Koryŏ royal court ardently practised Buddhism. There are a tremendous number of records on the ancestral ceremonies held at Buddhist monasteries sponsored by the court. During the later part of the Koryŏ dynasty, the earlier practice of performing ancestral ceremonies in Buddhist style at the monasteries supported by the royal family was continued. As Hŏ Hungsik points out, although Koryŏ Sovereigns frequently visited monasteries located in the capital to attend sermons, the chief significance of the relationship between the royal court and Buddhist monasteries lies in the function of those monasteries as ancestral shrines.[512] In relation to our concern here, it is very significant to note that on the death or birth anniversaries of Emperors of the Yuan dynasty, ceremonies were performed in spirit shrines inside the royal court or in monasteries outside the court in Koryŏ. For example, in the first month of the fifth year of the reign of King Chungyŏl 忠烈 (1279), *Koryŏsa* states that:

> The King, accompanied by government officials, went to Myoryŏn monastery and conducted 祝釐 (prayed for the Yuan emperor)..., [this] is the rite of the Yuan dynasty.[513]

Deaths of Koryŏ sovereigns were reported to the Yuan imperial court, upon which the Yuan court sent envoys with ceremonial items for mourning. For example, the death of King Chungyŏl in the seventh month of the thirty-fourth year of his reign (1308), was reported to the Yuan Imperial court.[514] King Chungsŏn 忠宣 (r. 1309-1313) returned to

512 Ho, 1986, pp. 296-297.
513 *Yŏkju Koryŏsa* vol. 3: *kwŏn* 29, p. 99.
514 Sin Sŏkjo et al. (ed.) *Koryŏsa: King Chungyŏl, kwŏn* 33, p. 128.

Koryŏ from the Yuan court and conducted the mourning ceremonies.[515] In the tenth month of the same year, the portrait of the deceased King was delivered from the Yuan court.[516] In the same month, the King went to Sinhyo 新孝 monastery to perform ceremonies for the deceased King. In the above ceremonies, it is very likely that not only the ceremonial style was similar to that of the Yuan imperial court but also the ceremonial vessels. It is probable that when the portrait of the deceased King was sent from the court, other ceremonial items including vessels accompanied it. Numerous elements of the style of Tibetan Buddhism, the religion of the Yuan Imperial court, must, therefore, have entered Koryŏ court life.

In particular, during the reigns of King Chungsŏn and King Chungsuk 忠肅 (r. 1314-1339), Tibetan Buddhism, came to be officially sponsored. The two Kings placed spiritual shrines for the Yuan Imperial families inside the monasteries.[517] All these facts are significant since various ceremonies for those Koryŏ sovereigns and their consorts, and for Yuan Imperial families enshrined in the Koryŏ monasteries, in particular, funerals, mourning or ancestral ceremonies, must have been practised in Tibetan Buddhist style. In all these ceremonies, a great number of ceremonial vessels must have been required.

12. 2 Porcelain vessels for use in Buddhist ceremonies held or sponsored by the early Chosŏn royal court

12. 2. 1. Buddhist activities

It is generally held that Chosŏn rule was established on the basis of Neo-Confucian ideology. Nevertheless, it is also well known that Buddhism was still practised at the royal court in the early Chosŏn period. In spite of the publicly expressed policy of suppressing Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries, King T'aejo had continued to practise the religion. *Sillok* compiles countless instances of Buddhist ceremonies of various types which were held inside the royal court or in Buddhist monasteries throughout his reign. In the tenth month of

515 *Yŏkju Koryŏsa*: *kwŏn* 33, p. 128.
516 *Yŏkju Koryŏsa* vol. 3, *kwŏn* 33, p. 130.
517 Ho, 1986, p. 458.

the coronation year, King T'aejo endowed the monk Chacho with the title of *wangsa*, 王師, royal preceptor.[518] Han U-kun suggests that the abolition of Buddhist monasteries, and the seizure of control over their systems and assets carried out by the government at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, was geared towards the redirection of their wealth into the state coffers. This was in response to the perilous and disordered state of the Koryŏ economy.[519] Whether or not the motivation for controlling Buddhist monasteries lay in ideological imperatives or economic realities, it is widely accepted that the early Chosŏn Kings practised the religion inside the court.

Han U-kun classifies important Buddhist ceremonies held during the early Chosŏn dynasty according to their purposes: firstly, during King T'aejo's reign, a variety of *sojae doryang* 消災道場 (halls for holding ceremonies for preventing disasters and misfortune) were established; secondly, Buddhist ceremonies on the death anniversaries and *ch'ŏnhoe* 薦會 (masses for the spirits of the deceased) were conducted for the Chosŏn and Koryŏ royal families; thirdly, ceremonies were also held for curing illnesses of members of the royal family. Other types of ceremony included celebrations for the reconstruction of stupas in Hŭngch'ŏn 興天 and Yinbok 演福 monasteries; celebrations for the relocation of woodblock printed *sutras*; celebrations for birthdays of members of the royal family; and Buddhist sermons. Traditional Buddhist ceremonies dedicating meals to monks were also conducted.[520]

Since previous scholarship elaborates the occurrences of Buddhist ceremonies at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, the details will not be rehearsed here.[521] Briefly, however, we ought to analyse Buddhist ceremonies held during this period in accordance with the places in which they were held: firstly, in Buddhist monasteries sponsored by the court, secondly, at Buddhist shrines built in the precincts of royal tombs, finally those celebrated inside the court, for example, at mortuaries, in pavilions, courtyards and in Buddhist shrines built inside the court.

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518 *CWS*, vol. 1: King T'aejo, *kwŏn* 2, p. 32, lower-a.
519 Han, 1993, p. 54.
520 Han, 1993, pp. 52-53.
521 Refer to Han, 1993, pp. 42-72.

Firstly, throughout the reign of King T'aejo, Buddhist ceremonies were incessantly held in the major monasteries sponsored by the court. For example, on the death anniversary of his father, in the fourth month of the third year of King T'aejo's reign (1394), a Buddhist ceremony was held in Kyŏngch'ŏn 敬天 Monastery.[522] In the third month of the sixth year of the same reign (1397), a Buddhist ceremony was again held in Kyŏngch'ŏn Monastery for the spirit of the deceased Queen Sindŏk 神德.[523] In the eleventh month of the fifth year (1396), upon a change of some constellation, a ceremony was also held at Kwangom 光嚴 Monastery aimed at preventing calamities which might be caused by the change.[524]

Secondly, Buddhist monasteries were also constructed in the precincts of tombs of deceased sovereigns and their consorts. Mourning and funeral ceremonies were of great importance. Continued from the Koryŏ dynasty, from the very beginning of the Chosŏn period, Buddhist style ceremonies for the ancestors of the royal family and high officials, as well as plebian, were practised. As Han points out, although during the Chosŏn dynasty, the *karye* (Chinese: *jiali*) 家禮 (family rites) constructed by Zhu Xi were encouraged for use in ancestral ceremonies, these were not widely practised at the beginning of the dynasty.[525] In fact, one of the important factors which maintained and strengthened the position of Buddhist monasteries was their housing of spirit shrines. A representative example in this regard is the Hŭngch'ŏn Monastery built inside the precincts of Chŏngrŭng 貞陵 (the tomb of Queen Sindok). *Sillok* records that, in the second month of the sixth year of the reign (1397), the King visited the Chŏngrong to inspect the construction of the Hŭngch'ŏn Monastery.[526] The following record succinctly highlights that Buddhist style ceremonies were customarily held at royal tombs during the early Chosŏn dynasty. In the seventh month of the thirtieth year of the reign of King Sejong (1425), a government official, Yi Sachŏl 李思鐵 appealed to the King to rescind the order for constructing a Buddhist

522 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 62, lower-b.
523 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 11, p. 101, upper-b.
524 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 10, p. 79, lowr-a.
525 Han, 1993, pp. 101-02; *CWS*, vol. 2: *T'aecho Sillok, kwŏn* 8, pp. 386-387.
526 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 11, p. 101, upper-a.

shrine inside the court for his deceased father King T'aejong. Yi exemplified the cases with Kaegyŏng 開慶, Yongyŏng 衍慶 and Sunghyo 崇孝 Monasteries which had been built either in the vicinity of the related royal tombs or some way from the tombs; and insisted that the reason why those monasteries were built was not that King T'aejong himself desired to construct them but that in truth, he was merely respecting his deceased father, King T'aejo's wishes.[527] Yi's appeal clearly shows that Buddhist style ancestral ceremonies were held at the royal tombs during the reign of King T'aejong.

Finally, Buddhist activities were also continuously performed inside the court. For instance, in the tenth month of the first year of the reign of King T'aejo (1392), on his birthday, meals were served to monks inside the court.[528] In the second month of the second year (1393), the *Sinjunggyŏng* (Chinese: Shenzhongjing) 神衆經 (*Shenzhong* sutra) was read in the courtyard. This ceremony was held for the warding off of disasters.[529] In the fourth month of same year, on the death anniversary of King Taejo, monks read *sutras* inside the court.[530] In the first month of the seventh year of the same reign,[531] a Buddhist ceremony was held at Kunjŏngjŏn 勤政殿 (Kunjong Hall).[532]

Government modifications of the system of Buddhist monasteries progressed during the reign of King T'aejong (1402-1418). Slaves residing in the farm lands of abolished monasteries were converted into state slaves.[533] Buddhist activities of the royal court nevertheless continued; monasteries were not only built at the royal graves but also inside the royal court. According to *Sillok*, in the ninth month of the first year of the reign (1402), a small Buddhist shrine was built inside the court.[534]

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527 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 121, p. 80, upper-a -p. 81, upper-b.
528 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 2, p. 33, upper-a - b.
529 *CWS*, vol. 1: *Taejo Sillok, kwŏn* 3, p. 41, upper-b.
530 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 3, p. 42, lower-b.
531 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejo Sillok, kwŏn* 13, p. 114, lower-a - b.
532 A hall placed inside the Kyŏngbok Palace which was used by the King when receiving felicitations from the government officials, announcing edicts, receiving envoys from foreign countries, and holding certain types of banquets including those for the eldery. *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol.1, 1991, p. 888.
533 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejong Sillok, kwŏn* 10, p. 334, lower-b; Han, 1993, p. 21.
534 *CWS*, vol. 1: *T'aejong Sillok, kwŏn* 2, p. 213, upper-b.

Han U-kun points out that in the twelfth month of the third year of King Sejong's reign (1431), the Buddhist ceremonies performed in monasteries at the end of each year were abolished by the order of the King.[535] One the major Buddhist events patronised by the royal court during this reign is the reconstruction of the Hŭngch'ŏn Monastery. The reconstruction of the pavilion where *sarira* were preserved and the erection of a stone *stupa* in the monastery were completed in the fourth month of the twenty-second year of the reign (1440).[536] In the sixth month of the same year, upon completion, a celebratory ceremony was held,[537] and the royal court covered the entire expense.[538] In the third month of the twenty-fourth year (1442), the celebratory ceremony was again held, about which government officials incessantly proteste d.[539] In addition to this, Prince Hyonyŏng 孝寧, brother of King Sejong, continuously pursued Buddhist activities and held ceremonies.[540]

Apart from this, amongst all the Buddhist ceremonies observed during this reign, the most frequently held were those for the ancestors and those for the recovery of the health of members of the royal family. In the ninth month of the first year of King Sejong's reign (1419), in the funeral ceremony of the abdicated King Chŏngjong 定宗, the King did not permit Buddhist ceremonies. However, in the eleventh month of the second year of the reign (1420), upon the death of the Queen Dowager, the widow of King T'aejong, while the funeral ceremony itself was carried out in accordance with the family rites of Zhu Xi, a ceremony of bidding farewell to the Dowager at the tomb was dedicated by Buddhist monks, as well as by old Confucian scholars and students. *Sillok* shows, in the fourth month of the sixth year of the reign (1424), that Buddhist monks were residing in *chaegung* 齋宮 (Chinese: *zhaigong*), built at the tombs of three previous generations of King T'aejo's direct ancestors, and that these monks were paid for their

535 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 14, p. 467, upper-b - lower-a; Han, 1993, p. 90.

536 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 89, p. 281, lower-a.

537 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 89, p. 291, lower-b.

538 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 89, p. lower-a.

539 *CWS*, vol. 4,: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 95, p. 405, upper-b - lower-a.

540 For example, ceremonies were held at the Han riverside for a whole week in the second month of the fourteenth year of the reign of King Sejong. *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 55, p. 372, upper-a.

services.[541]

Moreover, apart from those held at the royal tombs, Buddhist memorial services and ceremonies were frequently held either in monasteries or inside the court. Although the funeral ceremony itself was, in many cases, conducted in accordance with the family rites provided by Zhu Xi, upon the death of a member of the royal family, *Chilchae* 七齋 were conducted. *Chilchae* literally means seven Buddhist ceremonies. These are Buddhist ceremonies held every seven underglaze blue decoration s during the first forty-nine underglaze blue decoration s after death. According to *Yaoshirulai benyuanjing* 藥師如來本願經, *Dicang pusa benyuanjing* 地藏菩薩本願經, *Fanwanjing* 梵網經, and *Yugashidilun* 瑜伽師地論, during this period, the deceased's relatives should perform a mass every seven underglaze blue decoration s since during this period, the spirit of the deceased will be reborn somewhere else. During this process, the relatives hold masses to bless the spirit s.[542] *Shishiyaolan* 釋氏要覽 (an outline of Shakyamuni's teaching) also records similar statements.[543]

In 1419, upon the death of the abdicated King Chongjong, the *Ch'ojae* 初齋 (the first seven-underglaze blue decoration s ceremony) was held at the mortuary located at Indŏk 仁德 Palace in the tenth month.[544] *Yijae* 二齋 (the second ceremony) was held at Hŭngdŏk Monastery,[545] *Samjae* 三齋 (the third ceremony) was held at Hŭngbok 興福 Monastery.[546] *Sajae* 四齋 (the fourth ceremony) was conducted in Hungch'on Monastery.[547] *Ojae* 五齋 (the fifth ceremony) was carried out in Changŭi Monastery in the eleventh month[548], *Yukchae* 六齋 (the sixth ceremony) was held at Chin'gwan 津寬 in the same month and *Chijae* 七齋 (the seventh ceremony) was performed in Kaegyong Monastery,[550] When the Dowager Queen, the wife of King T'aejong and the mother

541 *CWS*. vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 24, p. 593.
542 *Foguang Dacidian*, vol. *xiang*, 1988, p. 88.
543 *Foguang Dacidian, xia*, 1988, 6545.
544 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 340, upper-a.
545 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 341, upper-b.
546 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 341, lower-b.
547 *CWS*, vol. 2 *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 342, lower-b.
548 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 6, p. 344, upper-a.
549 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 344, upper-a.
550 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 345, lower-a.

of King Sejong, passed away, from the seventh to the eighth month of the second year of the reign (1420), ceremonies were performed at Hŭngdŏk, Hŭngch'ŏn, Kyegyŏng 開京, Hoeam Monasteries and Taeja-am 大慈庵 (Daja Hermitage).[551] In the twentieth year of the reign (1438), a Buddhist ceremony was held to pray for the recovery of Prince Hyonyŏng 孝寧, the brother of the King,[552] However, the period during which Buddhist ceremonies were most frequently and ostentatiously carried out was the later part of the reign. In particular, for the purposes of curing the illness of Queen Sohŏn, a number of Buddhist ceremonies were conducted during the third month of the twenty-eighth year of the reign (1446).[553] Upon the death of Queen Sohŏn in the same month,, the *Ch'ojae* was performed in Changŭi Monastery. It was ordered that all the other ceremonies up to that of *taesang* 大祥,[554] be conducted at Chin'gwan, Hoeam, Changŭi Monasteries and Taeja-am, respectively, and that a number of government offices, in turn, should bear the expenses.[555]

The record in *Sillok* of the ninth month of the thirtieth year of the reign (1448) states that the King ordered the death anniversary ceremony for the Queen at Daja Hermitage to be conducted in accordance with earlier precedents. This indicates that it was conventional to conduct such ceremonies. According to the record, this shrine was established for the tomb of Prince Sŏngnyŏng 誠寧. Because all the major Buddhist ceremonies were generally performed in this shrine, enormous quantities of grain and silks of high quality were offered by the court.[556] From the thirty-first year (1449), Buddhist ceremonies were again incessantly conducted for the purpose of curing the illnesses of both the Heir Apparent and the King himself.[557]

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551 Han, 1993, p. 102.

552 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 81, p. 147, upper-a.

553 *CWS*, vol. : *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 111, p. .

554 According to *Sillok*, in the third month of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Sejong (1446), the Department of Rites suggested the King that *daesang* of Queen Sohon should be carried out after thirteen months. *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 111, p. 660-661.

555 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 111, p. 662, lower-a-b.

556 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 121, p. 100, lower-a..

557 *CWS*. vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 126, p. 150.

There also occurred ceremonies inside the court. In the ninth month of the thirtieth year (1448), *Sillok* records that King Sejong endowed Kim Su-on with an official post. According to the evaluation of his personality by the *Sagwan,* 史官 (*Sillok* historian), whenever there were Buddhist ceremonies carried out inside the court, Kim was always sitting with his eyes closed, worshipping with joined hands, reading *sutras* and he was never ashamed of his behaviour.[558]

Another Buddhist event patronised by King Sejong himself was the establishment of a Buddhist shrine for the royal ancestors in the vicinity of Munsojŏn. *Sillok* records that on the ninteenth day of the seventh month of the thirtieth year of the reign (1448), officials of the six government departments, along with Ha In, the *chwaŭijŏng* 左議政,[559] petitioned the King not to establish a Buddhist shrine in the northwest conrner of the Munsojŏn courtyard.[560] Among them, Yi Sachŏl petitioned the King claiming that the establishment of a Buddhist shrine beside the *Wŏnmyo* would not accord with King T'aejong's wish.

According to *Sillok,* prior to this, up to around the fifteenth year of King Sejong's reign (1433), a Buddhist shrine, Naebuldang 內佛堂 (literally, a Buddhist shrine located inside the court) belonging to Munsojon had been maintained in the vicinity of the Changdŏk Palace.[561] However, this shrine was abolished in 1433 when a new ancestral shrine was built, and renamed Munsojŏn[562]. Finally, despite all the petitions from the government officials, in the twelfth month of 1448 there took place the opening of a Buddhist shrine, which was again named as Naebuldang. Upon the completion of the construction

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558 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 121, p. 99, upper-a.

559 One of the official posts of the first grade which belongs to *ŭijŏngpu* 議政府 of the Choson dynasty. The role was to assist the sovereign, to administer the government officials, and supervise the public policies. *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn* vol. 17, p. 622. *Ŭijongpu* is the highest administering office in the Choson government to controll the government officials and to deal the public affairs. *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 20, p. 793.

560 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 121, p. 82.

561 Concerning the location of the previous Munsojon, *Sillok* states that it was originally located outside the *chungjang* (double walls) 重墻 of the Changdok Palace. It is not clear whether the *chungjang* denotes the palace wall or one of many walls constructed between different districts inside the court. Refer to *CWS*, vol. : *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 121, p. .

562 CWS, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 59, p. 441, lower-a.

of the Buddhist shrine, the celebration ceremony lasted for ninety-five days.[563]

The exact location of the new Naebuldang, in particular, whether it was inside the court or not, is unclear. Although the written petition by Ha In and others shows that the King originally planned to build the shrine in the northwestern yard of Munsojŏn, the record of the seventh month of the eighteenth year (1436) indicates a modification to the plan. In reply to, the petition by Yi Sachŏl, the King replied that since government officials had said that a Buddhist shrine should not be constructed inside the court, the King himself directed it to be built at a place near to Munsojŏn, but about one hundred steps outside the courtyard. In the record of the twelfth month of the thirtieth year (1448), after the establishment of the shrine, it is stated that the King was concerned for the security of the shrine since it was located outside the wall of the Palace.[564] Whether it was built inside or just in the vicinity of the courtyard alongside the Palace wall, it is clear that the shrine belonged to and also was established as a shrine for Munsojŏn. It is therefore evident that Buddhist ceremonies were conducted in the ancestral shrine built within the early Chosŏn court.

The historical background given above vividly depicts the general culture of ancestral ceremonies at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty. Hŏ Hung-Sik states that shrines for the ancestors of high officials who had contributed to the overthrow of the Koryŏ dynasty, and who had thus greatly aided the establishment of the Chosŏn dynasty, were also built in Buddhist monasteries.[565] One such example is *Chŏnggyesa*, located at Kwach'ŏn in Kyŏnggi Province. This monastery used to be the spiritual shrine of Cho Ingyu 趙 仁規, a high official of the Koryŏ dynasty, and continued to be the shrine for those of Cho's descendents who contributed to the overthrow of the Koryŏ dynasty.[566] We can see, therefore, that full support must have been given to those monasteries by the wealthy families of high officials. What types of ware were used in Buddhist style ancestral ceremonies in such monasteries sponsored by wealthy donors? It is safe to assume that a

563 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 122, p. 106, lower-a -b.
564 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 122, p. 107, lower-a.
565 Ho, 1986, pp. 533-44.
566 Ho, 1986, p. 539.

substantial quantity of Buddhist style ceremonial wares were demanded by such monasteries. We need to know which types of vessel were used in Buddhist style ceremonies held during funerals and mourning periods inside the court or in monasteries sponsored by the court. We need also to pose the same question concerning other types of Buddhist ceremony held for the state or the royal families both inside the court and in monasteries.

12. 2. 2. Buddhist Ceremonial Vessels

It is important to consider, that from the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, the government was suffering from a severe lack of metals, including gold, silver, copper and brass. As seen in the record of 1407, it was declared that the use of wares outside the court was to be confined to ceramics and lacquer. In 1415, metal bells were collected from the abolished Buddhist monasteries.[567] The policy of saving gold and silver continued and was further developed in the reign of King Sejong who even restricted the use of gold and silver inside the court.

In the case of monasteries sponsored by the royal court, at the Hŭngch'ŏn monastery, for example, it may have been possible to use wares mostly made of gold for Buddhist ceremonies at least up to the reign of King T'aejong, when the use of gold and silver was not strictly limited to within the court. However, in monasteries with shrines for high officials, it would have been illegal to use wares made of gold, silver or copper.

As noted earlier, the colour white has a significance in Buddhism, seemingly stimulating the production of great numbers of ceramic ceremonial vessels from the Six dynasties period onwards.

There are a number of extant examples of low-fired white pottery of a type produced continuously from the Koryŏ to the early Chosŏn dynasty. In particular, from the kiln complexes at Puan 扶安 in Chŏlla Province, low-fired white porcelain vessels were produced during the

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567 *CWS*, vol. 2: *T'aejong Sillok, kwŏn* 29, p. 55, lower-b.

Koryŏ dynasty. They include sherds of white porcelain vessels dating approximately from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Among them are some sherds which show certain features of the transition from low-fired to high-fired.[568] Although sherds of low-fired white porcelain vessels were found in Kwangju only at some sites which belong to the earlier group of kilns, similar sherds have been commonly found at kiln sites from other areas and are generally dated around the fifteenth century. Extant examples include a low-fired white porcelain flask and epitaph with inlaid decoration of a lotus scroll excavated from a tomb in Chinyang 晉陽郡 collected in the Ho-am Art Museum,[569] and a dish decorated with a similar motif preserved in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul.[570] Most interestingly, these vessels were predominantly decorated with lotus motifs. As can be seen in the type of vessels such as epitaph, or from the place where they were found, for example, in a tomb, it appears that most of them were manufactured as vessels for use in Buddhist style funeral or mourning ceremonies.

The decoration found on large numbers of low-or medium-fired white porcelain sherds, decorated with iron slip inlay, collected from earlier group of kiln sites in Kwangju consists of Buddhist motifs such as lotus flowers.[571] They mainly consist of *wan* (small tea bowl shape), for use in Buddhist ceremonies. The stem cup, a representative shape found in pure white porcelain, also originated in Buddhist ceremonial wares. In most cases the foot is not glazed, the vessels are fairly thickly formed and roughly cut, and the glaze is tinted with a bluish or greyish colour. However, in others, representing a significant percentage of the total, the body materials are pure white and well washed, and the general colour of the glaze is white. It can be assumed that considerable labour must have been required for their production, and the cost of manufacture is not likely to have been low. This indicates that their consumers were not plebian.

Considering these various facts, both the policy of encouraging the use

568 Kang Kyongsook, 1989, p. 239.
569 Jin Hongsop, *Kukpo*, 1984, pl. 11-12.
570 Jin Hongsop, *Kukpo*, pl. 11-12, 1984.
571 These wares collected from the kiln sites #2 and #4 Usanni. For details of the location of these sites, refer to Yun, 1981; *Kwangju ŭi Paekcha yoji*, 1992.

of ceramic vessels, and the practice of using white porcelain vessels in some Buddhist ceremonies might have contributed to both the demand of a large scale production and their technical enhancement. In this view, there is a strong possibility that a substantial proportion of these products were in demand for funerary, mourning and ancestral ceremonies in Buddhist monasteries sponsored by the royal court or families of high officials from the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty.

As shown previously, the shapes and decorations of ceremonial wares were specified in Tantric Buddhism, and some of them appear to have been made using either white or underglaze-blue porcelain. Considering the general atmosphere of the late Koryŏ dynasty, Buddhist icons or decorations from Yuan ceremonial vessels must have been relatively easily accepted by the Koryŏ people. However, as the Koryŏ royal court maintained a Buddhist tradition inherited from a period prior to the Yuan Buddhist influence the types of Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies performed are likely to have been limited to certain ceremonies. This was different from the Yuan court where a variety of ceremonies were performed in Tibetan Buddhist style.

To state the problem more clearly, we can assume that two elements were involved in the process of manufacturing underglaze blue wares as Buddhist ceremonial wares in the Korean royal court. The first consisted of traditional Buddhist elements inherited from the first half of the Koryŏ dynasty; the second, some Tibetan Buddhist elements which probably existed from the late Koryŏ dynasty under Yuan influence.

We therefore conclude the following: firstly, concerning the earliest manufacture of high quality of white porcelain wares, it appears certain that demand for them increased from the end of the Koryŏ period and in particular from the beginning of the Chosŏn period. From the coronation year of the reign of King Sejong, when the King prohibited the use of gold and silver for official attire and other personal ornaments, white porcelain wares were probably used in some circumstances inside the royal court in order to replace wares made of gold or silver. If the production of high quality white porcelain had not been achieved by the coronation year of the King Sejong's reign, a great deal of effort must have been expended to

develop such a technique. At any rate, by the twelfth year of the reign (1430), white porcelain wares of high quality were being produced. No later than the middle of King Sejong's reign, from around 1430 to 1433, a substantial number of white porcelain wares were already in regular use inside the court. It is therefore clear that a considerable amount of white porcelain wares were domestically manufactured for certain uses and that they were high-fired, well-vitrified and good quality, as was the case with similar Ming imperial wares. The use of white porcelain vessels as sacrificial wares for use in ancestral shrines built inside the court appears to have begun around 1447. From then onwards, white porcelain sacrificial vessels came to be widely used in other ancestral ceremonies held inside the court. If the amount of white porcelain wares produced was limited, it may not have been due to technical difficulties but rather to the codified uses of white porcelain wares. Secondly, the background to the demand for white porcelain vessels at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty can also be found in the context of both Confucian-style rites, and Buddhist rites, as was the case with the Ming imperial court. However, while it is obvious that the pattern and use of this type of white porcelain vessel at King Sejong's table imitated similar customs of the Ming imperial court, the other vessels for use in such rites are not likely to have been indiscriminately imitated. The similarities between vessels, for use in Choson and Ming state ceremonies based on the ancient Chinese model or those held in Confucian style, can be found in their common foundation in those of the Tang and the Song dynasties. In addition, the similarities were also due to the efforts of the early Choson sovereigns to keep a balance with contemporary etiquettes practised at the Ming imperial court. Most importantly, the differences derived from the fact that each country adopted different ritual vessel systems from the Tang and Song periods. Despite the general similarities found in ritual vessel systems from these periods, each system also has differences. Although no particular text which records Buddhist ceremonial vessels from the early Choson dynasty has been preserved, given the results of the above analysis, and given the tradition of Buddhism during this period, there appears a possibility that similar phenomena occurred in Buddhist ceremonial vessels used by the royal court. In creating underglaze blue vessels during the early Choson period, it can be assumed that many

elements of Buddhist ceremonial vessels used at the early Choson court were probably derived from the Koryo tradition in which both contemporary Chinese, and Korean Three Kingdoms period influences were already present. It is quite possible that some influences were also derived from Ming underglaze blue wares.

PART V

THE INTRODUCTION OF UNDERGLAZE WARES INTO KOREA

Introduction

As stated in the preface to Part IV, in dealing with the introduction of underglaze blue wares in Korea, two major issues must be explored. The first is to determine the earliest extant Korean underglaze blue wares, and the earliest time frame for their production in Korea. The second is to track the mechanism through which the influence of similar Chinese vessels reached Korea.

The number of known extant examples of Korean underglaze blue vessels which can be attributed to the time frame between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries is no more than forty. Among these, the number of vessels which can be attributed to the earlier group is fairly limited. The motifs employed in Korean underglaze blue wares of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries generally include: stylised lotus scrolls; plum trees, birds and other minor motifs; or dragons and clouds. The lotus scroll is generally held to be the most commonly occurring motif.

Scholars disagree as to exactly when such production began. One view, represented by Chung Yangmo, is that the earliest manufacture of underglaze blue wares was carried out sometime between late in the reign of King Sejong to a time no later than the early years of King Sejo.[572] Yun Yong-i, on the other hand, believes that the domestic manufacturing of underglaze blue wares in Korea began sometime between the coronation year of the King Sejo and the period between 1464 and 1469 when native blue pigments were first excavated.[573] Furthermore, Chung believes that white and underglaze blue wares were actively manufactured during the fifteenth century while Yun considers that such types of wares only began to flourish from the 1480s or 1490s onwards, and throughout the sixteenth century that such white and underglaze blue wares were much enhanced both in production quantity and quality.

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572 Chung, 1980, pp. 175-6.
573 Yun, 1985, p. 67.

The issue therefore remains unresolved. When did the earliest manufacture of underglaze blue wares begin, and during which time frame was their manufacture most refined and most active? To solve these questions, textual sources will be thoroughly examined for evidence of the earliest manufacture of underglaze blue wares and their use in the royal court. The earliest date of manufacture, and the production scale of underglaze blue wares will be dealt with in terms of their codified use in the royal court. The analysis will then turn to records which include any content on underglaze blue wares, followed by an investigation of records on blue pigment. After this, the use and status of porcelain wares in the court after the earliest stage of their manufacture, in particular, from the second half of the fifteenth century to the sixteenth century will be traced. This will enhance the understanding of the position and use of underglaze blue wares during the earliest stage. Following this, extant examples of such Korean underglaze blue wares will be systematically analyzed. Since the styles of decoration found in Korean wares were greatly influenced by similar Chinese styles, an analysis of the stylistical evolution of similar Chinese elements will be enormously helpful when trying to establish the manufacturing dates of extant examples. Thus, a brief survey will be made of the evolution of the stylised lotus flower scroll, as executed in imperial underglaze blue wares of the early Ming dynasty. After this systematic examination of Chinese wares, it will be possible to compare the decorative designs and styles of execution of similar early Korean underglaze blue wares. Finally, the background to the earliest manufacture of Korean underglaze blue wares will be explored.

Chapter 13

Uses and Availability of blue pigment and porcelain vessels

13.1 Specified uses of underglaze blue wares during the reign of King Sejong

There is a record that after his enthronement, King T'aejong presented Songgyun'gwan 成均館 (the national academy)[574] with a *chonghwa chan* 靑花盞 (literally cup with blue or blue flower decoration which indicates underglaze blue cup) which he had used in his work at Kukjagam 國子監, (the state university established in the eleventh year of the reign of King Sŏngjong, 992, in the Koryŏ dynasty).[575] Although the record itself dates from the reign of King Hyojong (1650-59), a much later period, this record is generally used as evidence of the presence of imported Chinese underglaze blue wares in Korea. Another contemporary record, found in *Sillok*, states that in the eighth month of the coronation year of King Sejong (1418), a *chŏngja huabyŏng* 靑磁花甁 (literally, blue ceramic flower bottle or celadon flower bottle) and ten pieces of celadon ware were dedicated to King Sejong by the second son of the King of Ryukyu 琉球.[576] In the tenth month of the same year, the Lord of Hyuga-shu 日向州 presented King Sejong with a *yumhobyŏng* 染壺甁 (painted bottle). In the first month of the fifth year of King's Sejong's reign (1423), the previous governor of Kyushu 九州 in Japan presented a series of gifts including two *sometsuke* 染付 wine cups, in the hope of obtaining a temple bell made in Choson. It is generally accepted that *sometsuke* means underglaze blue wares.[577] We know, then, that some underglaze blue wares had already been delivered to Korea by the beginning of King Sejong's

574 Songgyun'gwan existed from the later period of the Koryo dynasty, which ensued even after the establishment of the Choson dynasty. For more details, refer to *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 12, p. 400.

575 *CWS*, vol. 36: *Hyojong Sillok, kwŏn* 15, p. 22. . For Kukjagam, see *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 3, 1991, p. 722.

576 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok*, kwŏn 1, p. 262, upper-a.

577 Yabe Yoshiaki, 1983, p. 82.

reign. As for the provenances of imported underglaze blue wares, scholars generally agree that they are very likely to have been Chinese.

In the tenth year of the reign of King Sejong, the Chinese Emperor presented him with white porcelain vessels and following this, in the eleventh (1429) and the twelfth (1430) years onwards, Chinese underglaze blue wares were given to King Sejong by Chinese Emperors or their envoys.[578] It is, therefore, clear that already, by the beginning of King Sejong's reign, Chinese underglaze blue wares of the Yongle period had been introduced into Korea.

However, as we have hitherto examined, specified uses would be the most important impetus which propelled the production of certain types of vessels. *Oryeŭi* shows that among *karye* 嘉禮 (court celebrations including state wedding ceremonies and a variety of other celebrations for major events)[579], a *Paekcha chonghwa chuhae* was specified as a wine jar for use in state banquets.[580]

However, a systematic survey of *Sillok* provides another important clue. The completion of the process of devising the details of ritual vessels for use in state banquet ceremonies was recorded in the tenth month of the thirteenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1431):

> The Department of Rites reported to the King concerning the rites of state banquets conducted after the state meeting, stating that "after the state meeting... *ch'onui* 典儀 (an official in charge of sacrificial ceremonies)[581] installs the seat of the royal prince to the

578 They include wares presented in the seventh month, in the tenth year of the reign of King sejong (1428), *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 41, p. 138, upper-b; in the fifth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of King sejong (1429), *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 44, p. 179, lower-a; in the eleventh month in the eleventh year of the reign of King sejong (1429), *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 46, p. 203; in the seventh month, in the twelfth year of the reign of King sejong (1430), *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 49, p. 245, lower-b - p. 246, upper-a.

579 In the royal court, *karye* further includes celebrations to mark one's attainment of manhood, enthronement, installation, presenting honorific titles to queen dowagers, major official events related to the coronation, various congratulatory ceremonies, and state banquets. For more details refer to *CWS*, vol. 5: *sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 132, p. 316, upper-a; *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 1, 1991, p. 56.

580 *CWS*, vol. 5: *sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 132, p. 304.

581 In the Koryo dynasty, *ch'onŭi si* 典儀寺 was an office in charge of sacrificial ceremonies, dedicating titles for shrines and posthumous names deceased sovereigns. *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 19, p.

southeast of the King, but let [the prince] sit toward the West...[582]

After stating the allocation of the seats for each member of the royal family, royal relatives, and government officials who were to attend the banquet, the report continues:

> *Tabang chejo* 茶房提調 (an official belonging to *tabang*, literally tea room, in charge of preparing tea, wine, vegetables, fruits and medicines for the royal family)[583] installs *sujun* 壽尊 (literally, the large wine jar to promote long-life) on the southern part of the platform facing North, and places *chŏm*坫 (a stand for wine cup) *to* the south of the wine vessel and puts the libation cup on [the *chŏm*]...[584]

A thorough survey of *Sillok* shows that, from the thirteenth up to the fifteenth year (1431-33), details of uniform attire of bands, music, and *uijang* 儀仗 (ceremonial instruments including weapons showing the majesty of a sovereign on state ceremonies, major events or a royal cortege)[585] for use in state banquets were all codified step-by-step. For example, the details of *uijang* were established in the tenth month of 1433,[586] while in the twelfth month of the same year, there were to be musical pieces for literati officials and military officials at state banquets.[587] Following this, from the sixteenth year of the reign (1434), when the marriage of a prince was bing discussed, the marriage ceremony rites for royal Princes and Princesses began to be codified.[588] Finally during the eighteenth and nineteenth years of the reign (1436-37), the committee for the preparation of the coronation ceremonies of the Heir Apparent was set up, and rites for enthroning the Prince and his wife as the Heir Apparent and Princess were codified. All these ceremonies were to be followed by state banquets.

Considering this, it is very likely that underglaze blue wine jars began actually to be employed in state banquets around the thirteenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1431), or at least in the nineteenth year of his reign (1437) by which time almost every detail of the rites for state

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556. Although I have been unable to find the specific task of *chŏnui* during the early Choson dynasty, it is very likely that it had similar functions.

582 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 54, p. 345, lower-a -b.

583 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 6, p. 37.

584 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 54, p. 345, lower-a -b.

585 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 17, 1991, p. 609.

586 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 62, p. 519, upper-b.

587 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 62, p. 530, lower-a.

588 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 64, p. 558 upper-a.

banquets had been codified and recorded in *Sillok*.

13. 2 Availability of blue pigment up to the middle period of King Sejong's reign

In order to manufacture underglaze blue wares, the most essential item is the cobalt blue pigment. Until now, when considering Choson's efforts to obtain blue pigment from China or to explore native ore to produce such pigment, scholars have confined their focus to the records from the reign of King Sejo (1455-1468).

The records of 1463 and 1469 in *Sillok* state that sources of native blue pigment for the manufacture of underglaze blue wares were sought due to a serious lack of imported blue pigment from China. Furthermore, in the ninth year of the reign of King Sejo (1463), Ku Chidong 丘致峒 *kyŏngch'agwan* 敬差官 (officials occasionally dispatched from the central government to provincial areas)[589] of Cholla Province, obtained *hoehoech'ŏng* 回回青 (Mohammedan blue pigment) from Kangjin 康津, and presented it to the King.[590] In the intercalary seventh month of the following year, Yu Won 柳援, *kyŏngch'agwan* of Kyongsang Province, came and presented ores of *Simjungchŏng*, 深重青 (literally, deep blue pigment) excavated from Kumchinbo 金眞寶 village at Hamyang 咸陽 County, and ores similar to *hoehoech'ong* from Miryang Prefecture 密陽府 and from Uisong 義城 County together with ores similar to *Simjungchŏng*, from Yongtok 盈德 village.[591] In the ninth month of the following year (1465), the Minister of Kyongsang Province explored and dedicated *Simjungchong*, *toch'ŏng* 土青 (literally, native blue) and *samch'ŏng* 三青 (literally, third blue) excavated from Ulsan 蔚山 County.[592] In the tenth month of the first year of King Yejong's reign (1469), the King ordered *Sŭngchŏngwŏn* 承政院 (Royal Secretariat, the office in charge of delivering messages from the King and receiving replies and reports from government officials)[593] quickly to deliver a letter to the minister of Chŏlla Province which stated:

589 For more details, refer to *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, v. 2, 1991, pp. 175-76.
590 *CWS*, vol. 7: *Sejo Sillok*, *kwŏn* 30, p. 575.
591 *CWS*, vol. 7: *Secho Sillok*, *kwŏn* 31, p. 581, lower-a.
592 *CWS*, vol. 7: *Sejo Sillok*, *kwŏn* 34, p. 652, lower-a.
593 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 3, 1991, p. 460.

> "Upon experimenting to execute surface designs with *hoehoech'ong* mined from Kang'jin, there appeared some genuinely good. Therefore, you can let it be known, when people manufacture ceramic vessels for private and official uses, they should try using ore similar to *hoehoech'ong* and report [the result]...[594]

The above facts concerning the use of cobalt ore in the reign of King Sejo's ore are generally known. Earlier evidence exists, however, and will be considered here. The nature of *Sillok*, government annals, makes it impossible for every detail of business carried out in every department to be recorded. However, through a survey of historical sources, it appears that efforts were made to obtain blue pigment from a foreign country or inside Choson even in the reign of King Sejong. In the twelfth month of the eleventh year of the King Sejong's reign (1429), *Sillok* states as follows:

> Pak Sŏsaeng 朴瑞生 reported the manufacturing method of *Simjungchŏng*, ...in Japan to the King. [Upon this], the King let [his officials] keep the methods.[595]

In addition, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month of the same reign (1430), a person called Yi Chŏn 李蕆 advised the King to explore domestic sources of copper, iron and mercury and *Simjungchŏng*. In particular, he said to the King that the ores similar to those of *simchungch'ong* had been found in Kosŏng 固城 County, and asked the King to distribute the *Simjungchŏng* ores brought from Japan all over the provinces, and ask people to find and report similar ores found in their own provinces.[596] Also, in 1430, a government official located in Cholla Province, Kwak Songu 郭承祐, dedicated blue ores discovered in Sorang 小浪 island to the King.[597] From these records we learn, firstly, that along with copper, iron and mercury, blue pigments were the most sought-after items in the Choson royal court of the time. Secondly, around this period, blue pigment ore or *Simjungchŏng*, was exported from Japan along with other metal ores. It is highly likely that the Japanese imported the blue pigments from either Islamic countries or China via Ryuku. One year later in 1431, it is recorded in *Sillok* that:

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594 *CWS*, vol. 8: *Yejong Sillok, kwŏn* 8, p. 421, lower-b.
595 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 46, p. 208, lower-a.
596 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 46, p. 210, lowe-b
597 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 50, p. 277, upper-a - b.

> The King endowed a set of inner and outer garments to the Minister of Chŏlla Province, as he has formerly presented blue pigment ores...[598]

Another record shows how various materials, possibly including blue pigment, were obtained from Ming China through official trade. The record of the second day of the third month of the fourteenth year of King Sejong (1432) states as follows:

> The Department of Manufacture petitioned the King saying that, "the officials who visited Peking, upon their return after having traded with materials and with money from *Sangŭiwon* 尙衣院[599] and from other offices, reserved [all the materials] in their houses for a long time without immediately submitting them to the offices; this is extremely improper... [600]

This record shows that various materials required in each of the government offices, including *Sanguiwon* were traded from China.

Given these historical records which show that by the end of the reign of King Sejong, white porcelain of high quality had been developed, blue pigment was available, ware-shapes and decorations were based upon the ritual specification, and the importation of Chinese underglaze blue wares was banned, it is evidently that underglaze blue wares were being manufactured in Korea late in the reign of King Sejong. It appears certain, that based upon imperial underglaze blue wares delivered to Korea which provided good models of designs of vessels, the court caused underglaze blue wares to be manufactured in Korea for its own uses when underglaze blue wares were adopted as ritual wares of certain types.

Moreover, considering all the elements which fully satisfy the conditions of manufacturing underglaze blue wares during the reign of King Sejong, in particular, no later than the thirteenth to the fifteenth year (1432-34), we cannot exclude the possibility that underglaze blue wares were actually being manufactured by no later than the middle of

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598 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 52, p. 311, upper-a..

599 The institute concerned with affording King's clothes, committing treasures of the royal court, and raw materials for manufacturing varioys items for use in the royal court. *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn* vol. 11, 1991, p. 549.

600 *CWS*, vol. 3: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 55, p. 373, upper-b.

his reign.

13. 3. Evolution of use of porcelain wares from the reign of King Songjong to the reign of King Myŏngjong

As far as domestic manufacture of white porcelain is concerned, its most important uses during the reign of King Sejong were at the King's table and as ceremonial wares for use at Munsojon and Hwidokchŏn spiritual shrines. In addition, although not systematically specified by rites, as pointed out in Part IV porcelain vessels were also occasionally used at the tables of Chinese envoys to keep a balance of etiquette between the table of the envoys and that of King Sejong, who necessarily used porcelain vessels presented by the Chinese Emperor. In the case of domestic manufactures at their beginning stage, their uses appear rather strictly limited. The most important use of underglaze blue wares during this reign, appears to have been as wine vessels for use in state banquets. These uses were practised according to the codes of the *Oryeŭi*.

From the reign of King Sejo, other uses began to be made of the wares according to court rites under the influence of Chinese imperial wares as well as in connection with the policy of saving gold and silver in Korea. Such uses, in the case of underglaze blue wares, included wine cups for use in the Queen's palace.

If the necessities of manufacturing certain types of vessels grew out of demand in relation to their specific uses, as has been hitherto suggested in this dissertation, finding the background to their production is significant for understanding the exact manufacturing situation. An efficient way of doing this would be to analyse their uses over a long period, the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, rather than a shorter time span.

In this section, the changing roles and uses of both white porcelain and underglaze blue wares inside the court, in the context of their relationship with metalwork will be examined. It will be shown that, while from the reign of King Sejong, white porcelain vessels were actively employed as top-grade vessels for use in the royal court, by

the reign of King Chungjong (1506-1544), most of them had again been replaced by gold, silver and other types of metals.

Wares for use in ancestral shrines

The record of 1516 during the reign of Chungjong states as follows.

> Having been to *Ŭigumbu* 義禁府 (a special legal institute of the Choson dynasty which takes charge of the investigation of crime s[602]), Yun Ŭnbo 尹殷輔 reported to [the King] that... "an incense box had again been lost from Munsojon, alleged to have been stolen by Suksŏk 叔石. Suksok's father-in-law, a craftsman who deals with silver, gave an incense box made of low-grade silver to replace it. This is very serious. It is important that you penalize them... In addition to this, in Munsojon, following the evening meal, all the silver wares should be placed and locked up in the cupboard. After the evening meal, the officers and craftsmen should inspect the grade of silver wares including incense boxes..."[603].

This record indicates that silver wares were again being used in everyday meal services in Munsojŏn instead of those of white porcelain which had replaced them. The record of 1528 during the reign of King Chungjong states as follows.

> [The King] said [to *Sŭngchŏngwŏn*], "The ceramic wares used at the altar are easily broken. Therefore, in Munsojŏn, Yonunjŏn 延恩殿 (a shrine inside the court, built for Tokjong 德宗, 1438-1457, the father of King Sonjong 成宗, r. 1469-1494, who received the posthumous title of a King in 1471[604]), and Yŏnggyŏngjŏn 永慶殿 (Yonggyong shrine) copper wares were only used. For the wares to be set in the front row, I ordered the *Saongwŏn* to procure ceramic wares...[605]

Thus by 1528, a large percentage of the porcelain vessels used at the altars of Munsojŏn, Yonunjŏn and Yonggyŏngjŏn had already been replaced with copper wares.

The fact that white porcelain wares had been substituted for metal wares by King Chungjong's reign (1506-54) can further be evidenced by

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602 For more details refer to *Kyŏngkuk Taejŏn*, 1978, pp. 34-35; *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 17, 1991, pp. 518-519.

603 *CWS*, vol. 15: *Chungjong Sillok, kwŏn* 25, p. 196, lower-a.

604 For more details concerning Yŏnunjŏn, refer to *Kyongkuk T'aejon*, 1978, p. 90; for more information on Tokjong, *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 6, p. 723.

605 *CWS*, vol. 17: *Chungjong Sillok, kwŏn* 62, p. 26, upper-b.

the following record. In 1551, during the reign of King Myŏngjong (1546-66), the *Sillok* states:

> The *Chejo* (the head of official posts which deal with businesses related to skill and other minor works in the central government during the Choson dynasty)[606] of the *Pongsangsi* 奉上寺 (Office which takes charge of sacrificial ceremonies) Yi Ki and Im Kwon said to the King, "a few days ago, we agreed that the wares used in Munsojon are too big in size. Therefore, we appealed to and were allowed to modify the sizes of bowls and mini-bowls, in accordance with the government budget of revenues and expenditures. This time, the head [of Munsojon] appealed for an additional modification of twelve soup bowls and the use of the remaining ones... The spirit of sacrificial ceremony lies in cherishing respect for ancestors, not in the abundance of the food served. We are not trying to reform the system. There was no fixed size for the porcelain wares, but the sizes were eventually determined by the artisans. However, due to the extravagance of the chaotic years [of the reign of King Yonsan], people favoured large-sized wares. Afterwards, due to the fragility of ceramic wares, they were replaced by brass wares. However, the sizes of the brass wares remained large since the office did not reduce them. Thus, the sizes of the brass vessels remained large as they were before. If the sizes of the wares followed those fixed by a system made by the previous King or ancient sages, it is not allowed to modify the sizes. However, there is an on-going malpractice of using wares of existing sizes made by craftsmen as a result of the extravagance that prevailed during the chaotic ages. Would there be anything wrong with the modification in accordance with the government budget? It is imperative that we modify the sizes of all types of wares because if we made partial modifications of 12 dishes, soup bowls and leave the rest without modification, it will rather cause confusion as to the manner of table setting of the sacrificial service. Thus, please tell the concerned ministry to modify the size of all types of wares, one-by-one abiding by the former tradition in order to prevent such a practice which, otherwise, would last for a long time." The King said, "I agree that sacrificial services are intended for cherishing respect for ancestors and made according to the previous regulations. [However,] I only allowed the modification of the size of the soup bowls because [people] had told me that the soup does not taste good. Whereas we are given only a bit of soy sauce, the soup is served in a very big ware. It has been a custom to keep the amount of food to commensurate with the size of the wares. If we modify all types of this ware, there will be much left-over food, and it is shameful to use this food (which was originally prepared for the sacrificial service) for other purposes. Although I consulted on this matter repeatedly, I conclude that it is not good to modify the sizes of other types of ware".[607]

These records indicate that porcelain wares had been used extensively

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606 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn* vol. 20, p. 212, 1991.

607 *CWS*, vol. 20: *Myŏngjong Sillok, kwŏn* 11, p. 28, upper-b- lower-a.

at court altars in Munsojŏn, Yŏnŭnjŏn and Yŏnggyŏngjŏn from some time after 1447 when King Sejong ordered to use white porcelain vessels at Munsojŏn and Hwidŏkchŏn, to a period slightly prior to 1528. Therefore, it can be assumed that the white porcelain wares which replaced silver wares from 1447 were gradually substituted for several grades and functions of wares of other types in numerous ceremonies carried out in Munsojon, Hwidokjon and other royal shrines except for *chongmyo*. By 1551, however, most of the porcelain wares had already been replaced by copper or brass wares.

There must be several reasons for this change. As is well known, during the sixteenth century, the manufacture of white and underglaze blue porcelain wares suffered seriously from labour shortage. Both the mining of kaolin ores and the manufacture of porcelain wares required hard manual labour. As Kang Man'gil and Song Ch'ansik have pointed out, many literary sources reveal that, as a result of this difficulty, a number of government slaves or artisans ran away.[608] Therefore, it would not have been easy to cope with the high demands of porcelain wares for official use.

It is very important to note, however, that another reason for the replacement of wares for use in the ancestral shrines can be found in the fact that around the period, there was a surplus of copper and silver.

According to record of 1411 during the reign of King T'aejong, in order to provide silver to pay tribute to China, the King ordered to refine gold and silver ores mined at various provinces.[609] In 1424 during the reign of King Sejong, the Ministry of Manufacture appealed to the King to dispatch government officials and a craftsman to test the ores mined at various places in Hwanghae and Pyong'an Provinces, respectively. The request was followed up.[610]

However, there is no reference as to whether the mining was successful or not. The records of 1513 and 1536 of the reign of King Chungjong indicate that silver had been produced from a mine at

608 Kang and Song, 1980, p. 213.
609 *CWS* vol. 1: *T'aejong Sillok, kwŏn* p.613 upper-a.
610 *CWS* vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 25, p. 622 lower-b.

Danch'on. In 1513, Liu Un 柳雲, the morning lecturer for the King's court expressed concern that people who visited the capital city of China usually brought a large amount of silver with them. He worried what if the Chinese government would urge Choson to give an annual tribute of silver, knowing that silver is produced in Korea. The King also said that himself was really concerned about the matter related to silver. Previously, the Chinese government dispatched envoys to spy on silver production in our country, but in vain. The reason for closing the silver mine in Danch'on and not allowing the opening of new mines was because that he feared such troubles.[611] In 1536 during the same reign, it is recorded that the King sent a message to the *chŏngwŏn* 政院 (*Sŭngjŏngwŏn*) saying that although there were other places producing silver, but by getting it from Tanch'ŏn year after year, the people of just one township had all hardship, which was truly regrettable. He thus ordered a register be compiled of other mining towns, and to obtain silver from them by turns, so that the labour is equally shared.[612]

However, these material conditions cannot be the sole reason for altering the ritual codes firmly established at the beginning of the Choson dynasty. Another aspect in accelerating this process can be found in the political dispute related to rites, and the general political atmosphere around the reign of King Chungjong. As previously analyzed, *Oryeŭi* was compiled with reference both to the state rites of the Ming Hongwu reign, Tang and Song dynasties, and to those of the Koryo dynasty, and was thus still based upon largely a philological approach. From the reign of King Chungjong onwards, when the government administrative system was rearranged to regulate the disorders which followed the collapse of the authority during the reign of King Yŏnsan (r. 1495-1506), there arose movements aimed at realising a Neo-Confucian ideology. Hongwu rites referred to the construction of Choson state rites at the beginning of the dynasty involved a number of Han and Tang Confucian elements. Although Neo-Confucian scholarship, focusing on empirical analysis, had advanced considerably by the end of the fifteenth century, modifications to rites based upon a philological approach largely

611 *CWS* vol. 14: *Chungjong Sillok, kwŏn* 18, p.659, lower-b.
612 *CWS*, vol, 17: *Chungjong Sillok, kwŏn* 82, pp.669 lower-b - 670 upper-a.

determined the shape of *Oryeŭi*.[613]

The Neo-Confucian movement was led by a younger generation of scholars who were newly employed in official posts with high status by King Chungjong, causing political confrontation and tension between them and the older generation of officials. During King Chungjong's reign and the following period, the reign of King Myŏngjong, this sort of tension eventually developed into severe factionalism in terms of not only purely philosophical differences but also struggle for political power. In this process, the reverence for Ming rites and the effort to balance the etiquette with Ming made during the early Choson dynasty were forgotten, and many rites established at the beginning of the dynasty were no longer seen as imperatives.[614]

Either brass or silver vessels without decoration, instead of white porcelain, still represented frugality and refrained from any splendid adornment. We can deduce that the general circumstances of the period in which such modification could occur, eventually made it possible to modify the tradition practised throughout the preceding reigns.

Wares for use in the quarters of the Queen and Heir Apparent

In 1525 during the reign of King Chungjong, *Sillok* states:

> *Sanguiwon* appealed to the King that although it had been ordered to make three bowls of tenth grade silver for the consort of Heir Apparent, one tea bowl for the Queen, and one bowl for the Heir Apparent for the occasions when reduced amounts of food were provided [to the royal family], the reserved amount of silver in the office did not exceed over 130 *liang*... [615]

According to this record, the *Sanguiwon* did not have sufficient silver to manufacture bowls and cups for the Princess, Queen and Heir Apparent. Following this request, the King only allowed the

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613 Refer to Lee Sang-paek, 1982, pp. 689-691; Lee Pomjik, 1992, p. *.

614 Refer to Lee Sang-paek, pp. 550-560, 1968.

615 *CWS*, vol. 16: *Chungjong Sillok, kwŏn* 54, p. 439, upper-a.

manufacture of silver cups for the Queen and bowls for the Heir Apparent.

Sillok also states in 1525 that:

> Prime Minister Yu Pu 柳溥 appealed to [the King] on behalf of *Sangŭiwŏn* 尙衣院: "the silver wares to be newly made for the Queen's palace are estimated to be over thirty *liang* in weight, and they must be made of tenth grade silver. But, such amounts of silver are unavailable in the *Sangŭiwŏn* and the Ministry of Manufacture. Thus, please obtain them by purchase. [The King] said, "If [we] get them by purchase, it would draw public criticism; thus we cannot do that. [Moreover,] we have already been provided with new silver wares for the use of altars and others by purchase. Therefore, it is not possible [to buy any more silver wares]. [We had better] remake the damaged silver wares owned by the *Saongwŏn* and the Ministry of Manufacture. (Although the harvest was good in Hamgyŏng 咸鏡 Province), [I] do not think it is appropriate to initiate such a big project as mining silver. Therefore, [an official proposal] for a project in Tanch'ŏn 端川 should be submitted after next year's harvest. Let the *Sangŭiwŏn* take over the work."[616]

The grade of importance of wares of tea bowls and wine cups was very similar. We have already seen that wine cups for use in the Queen's residence were made of underglaze blue porcelain instead of silver by the order of King Sejo. We can assume therefore, that in contrast with the atmosphere of King Sejo's reign, silver wares were much more frequently used.

Wares for use in receiving Chinese envoys

In 1565 during the reign of King Myŏngjong, *Sillok* states as follows:

> Prime Ministers Yun In'gyŏng 尹仁鏡, Yi Ki 李芑 and Chŏng Sunbyung 鄭順朋 [said to the King], "Reading the letter sent from the official receiving the Chinese envoys, the Chinese envoys are very likely to have many requests. If we do not furnish [goods] in abundance, it is feared that they will be annoyed. What they require is *liang* of silver. Since we used silver vessels in the banquets for them, how could they have not known that silver is now produced in our country? Therefore, please satisfy them by making [new] silver vessels and furnishing them." This was allowed.[617]

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616 *CWS*, vol. 16: *Chungjong Sillok, kown* 55, p. 467 lower-b - p. 468 upper-a.

The message clearly shows that gold or silver wares were again being used in receiving Chinese envoys.

Wares endowed by the King to government institutes or officials

From late in the reign of King Sejong to the reign of King Sŏngjong, porcelains, including plain white and underglaze blue wares, were often included as important items in the King's endowments.

In 1447, King Sejong donated underglaze blue wares to *Sŏnggyun'gwan.* The ninth month of the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Sejong *Sillok* states as follow:

> The King granted *Sŏnggyun'gwan* two *hwasa taejong* 畫沙大鐘 (large ceramic cups adorned with a painted decoration), two *paeksa taejong* 白沙大鐘 (white ceramic cups of large size), four *paeksa taejun* 白沙大尊 (white ceramic jars), one hundred and fifty bottles of wine, fish and meat. ... These presents were given after *Yijo Panso* 吏曹判書 (Minister of Internal Affairs)[618], Chung Inji 鄭麟趾 said to the King: "King T'aejong donated 青畫沙大鐘 (a large underglaze blue cup) to *Sŏnggyun'gwan* for to commemorate that this was where he first received a government post. The cup was carefully looked after and had been preserved for a long time. However, it was unfortunately broken. Therefore, [we] hope that you donate another wine vessel to remember King Tae'jong's intention by." Thus, [it led to] this donation from the King. Kyomsasong 兼司成 (official at *Sŏnggyun'gwan* in charge of providing its students with a Confucian education)[619] Yun Sang 尹祥, accompanied by some students, gave a letter, and expressed his gratitude to the King for his presents. All the Confucian scholars praised this, beholding it as one of the most beautiful things.[620]

King Sejo also appears to have used porcelain vessels for gifts to his government officials. In 1461, he himself painted on a vessel, and presented it to Sin, Sukchu 申淑舟, one of his influential government officials.

Upon this event, *Sillok* records as follows:

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617 *CWS*, vol. 19: *Myongjong Sillok, kwŏn* 3, pp.388 lower-b - 389 upper-a.
618 For more details, refer to *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn*, 1978, pp. 36-39.
619 *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwa Sajŏn*, vol. 10, p. 868.
620 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 33, p.35 upper-b.

> [The King] ordered *chusŏ* 注書 (seventh-rank officials who belong to *Sŭngjŏngwŏn*)[621], Yi Sunam 李壽男, to deliver five bottles of Soju 燒酒 (a type of wine) and *hwajong* 畫鐘 to *Chwaŭijŏng* 左議政 (one of three top-ranking officials in the state council) Sin Sukchu. [The King] drew on the surface of the wine cup a picture of a pumpkin hanging on the vine, and inside the cup wrote a poem composed by himself [which reads]:
> "Does this make you laugh,
> My pumpkin is ripe at last,
> I split it open,
> And made a wine cup out of it".
>
> This is a poem which expresses the King's warmest affection [for Sin Suk-ju].[622]

The practice of giving porcelain vessels as presents continued during the reign of King Songjong. Upon the King's donation of white porcelain wares, in 1469, Sŏng Hyun 成俔 (1439-1504), a renowned scholar of the period, states, in the "Introduction to a poem praising the King's endowment of a bottle of wine and wine cups to *Sŭngjŏngwŏn*" in his *Hŏpaektangjip* 虛白堂集 (A Collection of Works by Hop'aektang):[623]

> In the second month of the fifth year of the Chenghua reign (1469), the King presented *Sungjŏngwŏn* with a *Paekcha chong* 白磁鐘 (white porcelain wine cup) and a bottle of wine, asking those present to enjoy wine with this cup. We found that the cup was extremely elaborately made and that the proportion was well-balanced. The surface was so translucent and spotless that it was a treasure of the world. ... The King particularly showed us his appreciation by endowing us with such a precious item from the court. In my humble opinion, we don't have enough ability to return the favour. ..[624]

As to the same event, Nam Sumun 南秀文 (1408-1443), a scholar-official during the early Choson dynasty states in *Kyŏngjaejip* 敬齋集 (A Collection of Works by Kyongjae)[625] printed in 1447:

> September: state [cabinet] ministers of the *Yukcho* 六曹 (Six Ministries) were called in Myŏngnyundang 明倫堂 (Myŏngnyun

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621 *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn*, 1978, p. 48.
622 *CWS*, vol. 7: *Sejo Sillok*, *kwŏn* 24, p.467, upper-a.
623 Hop'aektang is the pen name of Song Hyun 成俔 (1439-1504).
624 *Hopaektangjip*, *kwŏn* 5, p. *.
625 Kyŏngjae is the pen name of Nam Sumun 南秀文 (1408-1443), a scholar-official during the early Choson dynasty.

> Pavillion) in *Sŏnggyun'gwan* and composed poems praising the King's endowment of jars and bowls. In his essay "the King's endowment of jars and bowls to *Sŏnggyun'gwan*", *Panso* 判書 (Minister) Sin Sŏkjo 辛碩祖 said: "a long time ago there had been a *ch'onghwa chong* 青畵鐘 (literally, cup adorned with blue painting, which means underglaze blue wine cup) preserved in *Sŏnggyun'gwan*. The quality was so exceptional that King T'aejong ordered an official to preserve it by keeping it in a case. In the eighth month of the *chŏngmyo* cyclical year, *Taesasŏng* 大司成 (an official in *Sŏnggyun'gwan* in charge of education)[626] Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 quietly told the King [about the broken underglaze blue porcelain cup]. Soon thereafter, the King presented to *Sŏnggyun'gwan* two pairs of *paekchun* 白尊 (white porcelain jars), a pair of *paekchong* 白鐘, (white porcelain cups) a pair of *hwajong* 畵鐘 (underglaze blue porcelain cups) and a bottle of wine...[627]

Even after this, a series of donations of porcelain vessels to government institutes were made in 1471, 1489 and 1491 during the reign of King Sŏngjong. In 1471, the King presented two white porcelain jars to *Sŏnggyun'gwan*.[628] In 1489, when the Minister of Rites asked the King to punish scholars in *Sŏnggyun'gwan* who broke one of the two jars adorned with painted decorations (underglaze blue porcelain jars) presented by the King. He responded by giving them another jar, promptly.[629] In particular, the King eulogised a *Paekcha pae* 白磁杯 (white porcelain wine cup) which he presented to *Sŭngjŏngwŏn* in 1491. He seems to have admonished officials in *Sŭngjŏngwŏn* by the gift, by saying that the wine cup looked so translucent and spotless that when wine was poured into it, all the impurities in the wine could be seen. He added that if an analogy should be made between the cup and a human being, it was that a man of extreme fairness without a single impureness, who was intolerant of evil doing.[630]

From the reign of King Yŏnsan (1495-1506), however, the frequency of the King's endowments of porcelain to government officials decreased, although to some extent porcelain wares were still favoured.

Gold and silver works began to be used as royal gifts. The record of

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626 For more details, refer to *Kyŏngkuk Taejon*, 1978, p. 53-54.
627 *Kyongjaejip*, *kwŏn* 4, compiled in *Han'guk Munjip Ch'ong'gan*, vol. 8, 1990, p. 426.
628 *CWS*. vol. 8: *Sŏngjong Sillok*, p. 593 lower-b.
629 *CWS*, vol. 11: *Sŏngjong Sillok*, *kwŏn* 230, p.505 upper-b.
630 *CWS*, vol. 12: *Sŏngjong Sillok*, *kwŏn* 260, p.123 lower-b.

1516 shows that the King presented his government official Park Wŏnjong 朴元宗 with four golden wine cups and a stand decorated with cloisonne, and also gave the rest of the things to other officials, Yu Soonjung 柳順汀, Sung Heea n 成希顔, and Yu Chakwang 柳子光. The King also offered silver bottles to each of them.[631] In 1499, he presented Yun Pilsang 尹弼商, Han Chihyung 韓致亨, Sung Chun 成俊 and Hak Chang 鶴頂 with a golden belt.[632]

Meanwhile porcelain wares appear to have been used relatively regularly, and were accordingly considered less precious than was before. In 1502, the King was criticised by his government officials because he delivered a message ordering an endowment of *hwaryŏngjun* 畵龍尊 (literally, a jar painted with a dragon decoration) along with other items to Princess Huisun's 徽順 house. The *sŭngji* 承旨 (royal secretary) and others said to the King that such wares were not even used for the Chinese envoys, and they wondered why the King sent such wares to a princess's house.[633] This tendency continued into the following reigns. In 1515, during the reign of King Chungjong, the *Tojejo* 都提調 (head of *Saongwŏn*) said to [the King]: "All the porcelain wares [you] distributed to several places a few days ago were the ones which were already used. Because of this, [officials in] *Hongmungwan* 弘文館 (institute which manages texts preserved inside the court, dealing with matters concerning documents and advising the Sovereign when called-upon[634]) hit our officer asking how dare he give us the used wares. How dare [they behave] like this toward the King's endowment, even it the presents are very trivial?"[635]

The position of porcelain vessels potrayed in the above records appears to have been lowered to a great extent compared to that from the beginning of the dynasty to the reign of King Songjong. In particular up to 1433, porcelain vessels were frequently mentioned by kings themselves as an important replacement of gold and silver vessels, and also to keep in line with international protocol in terms of the diplomatic relationship with China.

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631 *CWS*, vol. 14: *Yonsangun Ilgi*, *kwŏn* 1, p 90 upper-a.
632 *CWS*, vol. 13: *Yonsangun Ilgi*, *kwŏn* 46, p.363 lower-b.
633 *CWS*, vol. 13: *Yonsangun Ilgi*, *kwŏn* 46, p. 524 lower-a.
634 For more details, refer to *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn*, 1978, pp. 50-51.
635 *CWS*, vol. 15: *Chungjong Sillok*, *kwŏn* 23, p.120 upper-a.

As well as the down-grading of porcelain vessels, apart from royal gifts, there was a notable increase in the general use of gold and silver vessels and metal art works, particularly from the sixteenth century onwards. For example, in 1503, King Yŏnsan called craftsmen to the court and ordered them to manufacture silver spoons[636], and in the following year, silver jars.[637]

Wares for other uses

In 1519 during the reign of King Chungjong (1519), *Sillok* states:

> The King ordered a supply of porcelains of "ordinary" quality [from the kiln factory] (because the court still needed porcelains even after high-grade porcelain for royal household use had already been supplied). The *Sillok* Historian said, "Porcelain, a nondescript thing. Has there ever been any incident like this that the King, by himself, made an order for such small things [as porcelains]...?"[638]

In 1528 during King Chungjong's reign, an appeal was made by an official, Yi Chibang 李之芳:

> ... Yi Chibang reported to the King ... "I heard that you prohibited drinking. In my opinion, the prohibition should be reinforced in the vicinity of the national border. All the wares used by villages in the vicinity of the border were purchased from Kwangju. Food as well as wares traded were brought from the south. They are addicted to a luxurious life, spending all their energy on useless things.[639]

It is thus safe to assume that production of porcelain wares did not decrease but rather reached its peak around the reign of King Chungjong. The uses of porcelain were no longer limited; they were extensively employed for various functions inside the court and in the luxurious life of the upper classes. Moreover, again, in both the above records of 1519, the writer of the annals of King Chungjong described porcelain wares as "nondescript things". As mentioned above, this

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636 *CWS*, vol. 13: *Yonsangun Ilgi, kown* 45, p.507 upper-a.
637 *CWS*. vol. 13: *Yonsangun Ilgi*, p. 536, lower-a.
638 *CWS*, vol. 15: *Chungjong Sillok, kown* 37, p. 571, lower-a.
639 *CWS*, vol. 16: *Chungjong Sillok, kwŏn* 60, p. 627 lower-a.

expression strongly contrasts with the description of royal endowments of porcelain to high-ranking officials and institutes from the reign of King T'aejong to that of King Songjong, which seem to have been extremely prestigious events. This dramatic change of attitude towards porcelain wares can only be explained by an increase in production and usage.

In conclusion, it is evident that there was a remarkable increase in the production of white and underglaze blue wares for various court uses as well as for the luxurious life of the upper classes from around the end of the fifteenth century onwards and throughout mid sixteenth century. However, most significantly, the position of the top grade court wares was again taken by those made of gold or silver.

Chapter 14

Earliest extant examples of Korean underglaze blue wares

Special attention should be given to representative examples generally held to be from the earliest period. Most scholars believe that the earliest Korean underglaze blue vessels are those decorated with similar design to Ming underglaze blue wares adorned with highly stylised decorative floral scrolls.[640] Although up to the present time, they have been referred to either as arabesque or lotus scrolls, I suggest that this flower should be called *posanghwa* 寶相華 (Chinese: *baoxianghua,* literally precious visage flower). The earliest examples decorated with a *posanghwa* include a underglaze blue plate decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll in the collection of the Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka (pl. 31-a, b), a underglaze blue plate decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll preserved in a Japanese private collection,[641] a underglaze blue plate decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll, in a private collection in Korea,[642] and a large underglaze blue jar decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll in a private collection in Japan (pl. 32-a, b).

With the permission of the museum, I analysed the ware-shape, decorative design, glazes and pigment condition of the plate collected in Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka. However, most of those held in private collections are inaccessible; even good quality photographs are not available, except, in the case of the underglaze blue jar decorated with a floral scroll (fig. 2-a, b), for which excellent quality photographs are available through which a close examination is possible.

The quality of blue pigment, decorative design and style of execution are all superb. Both the design and style of drawing on these vessels are similar and they are accordingly held to be of the same period.

640 Chung, 1980, p. 177; Yun, 1985, pp. 66-67.
641 *Chosŏn Paekchajŏn II*, 1985, p. 44, fig. 13.
642 Christies, New York, 1994, April 27.

Hitherto, the dating of the extant examples has been hardly attempted. Tentative date attributions on some wares have been, sporadically made, either in exhibition catalogues held in museums, or in articles compiled in books which cover Choson wares in general. Chung largely categorizes fifteenth century examples into two distinctive periods: fifteenth century and the second half of the fifteenth century. Thus, by the former, Chung covers the early or the middle of the fifteenth century, the period preceding the shortage of blue pigment which occurred around 1464 during the reign of King Sejo (1435-1468). Chung attributes the most important extant examples of early Korean underglaze blue wares including those mentioned above, to the period prior to the end of King Sejo's reign,[643] basing his view mainly upon their similarity to Chinese underglaze blue wares from the Hongwu to Xuande periods, and on the National Museum's collection of sherds of underglaze blue wares which, he believes, show a resemblance to those Chinese wares. Yun, on the other hand, believes them to date from the second half of the fifteenth century.[644]

I propose, however, that the earliest date for the manufacture of underglaze blue wares inside Korea appears to be no later than the 1440s. Most of the earliest extant examples must have been manufactured during a time frame of no later than 1440 to 1464 when the Choson government suffered from a lack of blue pigment. As far as kiln sites at Kwangju in the early fifteenth century are concerned, none which can be attributed to this time frame on the basis of any securely dated materials have been systematically excavated up to the present time. Surface finds at some kiln sites, for example those at Usanni which are believed to have been worked around the start or the middle of the fifteenth century, include only a few sherds of white porcelain wares of high quality. It is therefore very difficult to

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643 Chung Yangmo, 1985, pp. 62-63.

644 In *Kogo Misul*, Yun suggests that many high quality underglaze blue porcelain wares were manufactured after 1469-1470 when the *Saongwon* was established at Kwangju. According to his theory, the main production of underglaze blue wares at this time was at kiln #1 Tomari kiln site, where a substantial number of sherds of underglaze blue wares have been excavated. Since Yun considers the kiln to have been functioning around this period for approximately ten years, Yun believes that it was after 1469-1470 that high-quality underglaze blue wares began to be manufactured. In "Choson *p'aekja ŭi p'yŏnchŏn*," Yun locates the date of a number of high quality underglaze blue wares in the second half of the fifteenth century. Yun, "*Chosŏn sidae Punwon ŭi songlip gwa p'yŏnchŏn e kwanhan yŏn'gu*" (2), p. 140; Yun, 1985, p. 66.

reconstruct possible techniques and ware-shapes of porcelain wares produced here. Because few objects with secure dates have been excavated from kiln sites, when approaching the earliest manufacture of Korean underglaze blue wares, comparative analyses with the decorative elements of Chinese wares should be carried out.[645] A number of the decorative elements of Korean underglaze blue wares of the earliest group do indeed share characteristics in common those of contemporary Chinese wares. Nevertheless, a systematic and consistent system in which precise comparison can be made has never been constructed.

Were we to analyze the evolution of various elements of floral scrolls in Chinese wares, we should also expect to see a parallel stylistic evolution in floral scroll design in Korean wares. Chinese examples can provide important dating criteria, as reign marks are inscribed on some Yongle and most Xuande wares. Furthermore, the recent finds from the Zhushan imperial kiln sites provide much additional information on Hongwu and Yongle imperial wares. In the following sections, extant examples of Korean underglaze blue wares will be dated based upon a comparison of decorative designs and styles of execution with similar Chinese examples. Finally, the conditions of pigment used in such underglaze blue wares will be studied. Although scientific analyses on cobalt used in Chinese wares have been advanced to a certain degree, further scientific research on each individual example cannot be conducted. However, it is generally recognised that the composition of the pigment differed somewhat in each period, resulting in different effects under the glaze firing. It is clear that Choson imported cobalt from China. As stated earlier, we cannot exclude the possibility that pigments used in the eariest underglaze blue wares were purchased from Japanese or Ryuku merchants who traded with Islamic countries. However, it is still highly likely that those pigments contained high percentage of cobalt and iron.

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645 Scholars including Chung Yangmo have also pointed out that underglaze blue wares of the earliest stage in Korea correspond almost exactly in decorative designs to similar Chinese wares. Chung Yangmo, 1985 p. 63. In addition, most scholars including Chung Yangmo and Lena Kim always emphasise the fact that in order to understand the earliest manufacture of underglaze blue vessels in Korea, a comparative analysis of the Korean vessels and similar Chinese vessels must be conducted.

Given this, the criteria used to discern the blue pigment types used in Chinese underglaze blue wares can also be applied when analysing early fifteenth-century Choson wares.

14. 1 Analysis

According to my thorough analysis of Korean examples of *posanghwa* scrolls generally held to be from the fifteenth century, it appears that although the basic patterns are similar, there are distinctive variations in the shape of flowers and anthers, and the types and styles of execution of petals and leaves. Are all these differences mere variations aimed at the avoidance of monotonous expression or do they signal an evolution? Only a limited number of early Korean underglaze blue wares decorated with *posanghwa* scroll remain. It is therefore difficult to find any answer from the wares themselves. However, a comparison with similar Chinese wares may help to overcome this difficulty. My analysis of Chinese underglaze blue wares from the first half of the fifteenth century shows that the most distinctive evolutions occur in the types of *baoxianghua* scrolls: in which perspective *baoxianghua* flowers are depicted; the shape of anthers and flowers; the pattern of individual petals of flowers; and leaves; and their style of execution. Various types appear in particular periods, and each of these evolves over time.

In this section, two representative Korean underglaze blue wares generally attributed to the fifteenth century, [1] a underglaze blue plate decorated with *posanghwa* scroll, in the collection of the Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka (pl. 31-a, b), and [2] a large underglaze blue jar decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll design in a private collection in Japan (pl. 32-a, b) will be analysed. In order to aid the classification in styles of execution, however, [3] a underglaze blue bottle, decorated with *posanghwa* scroll (pl. 33) and [4] a small underglaze blue jar, decorated with *posanghwa* spray and inscribed with the character Osangi 오ᄉᆞᆼ이 in the collection of the Ho-am Art Museum (pl. 34) will also be considered. Curators of the Ho-am Art Museum date the bottle and the small jar from the middle of the

fifteenth century. This attribution is based upon the greenish colour of their pigments, an effect which is suggestive of the use of native blue pigment.[646] This opinion is generally accepted. For each piece, I shall provide a short description of general arrangement of decoration, and structure of floral scrolls or sprays in which perspective flowers are depicted, followed by a detailed analysis of the shape of anthers and flowers; the pattern, and the style of execution of individual petals of flowers; and those of leaves; pigments and noteworthy features of the potting. A subsidiary band such as lotus panels in case that they are arranged would also be included. Throughout the analysis, comparisons with Chinese examples will be made, which will conclude with discussion on sources of influences exercised upon Korean examples, and the arguments for a possible dating attribution for each piece. The general conclusion will outline the most significant criteria for dating purposes, in as far as they can be determined.

Korean underglaze blue wares

Plate decorated with *posanghwa* scroll. Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka (pl. 31-a, b, c)

a. General arrangement of the design and structure of the floral scroll

The mouthrim is decorated with stylised wave patterns, and the exterior, with Buddhist emblems. The design arranged at the inside the plate shows a total of six flowers, one in the centre and five around it. The flowers are associated with a scroll which surrounds each individual flower and all are depicted from a bird's-eye perspective. The quite evenly drawn, circular shape of the flower, enhances its full face visual effect. The tip of each petal is twisted in one direction as if the flower were turning.

A substantial number of wares decorated with *baoxianghua* were excavated from the Hongwu stratum of the Zhushan imperial kiln sites at Jingdezhen.[647] *Baoxianghua* flowers depicted from a bird's-eye view

646 *Chosŏn Paekchajŏn* II, 1984, p. 78.

are observed in numerous Hongwu imperial wares. Examples include a underglaze blue bowl painted with a scrolling lotus, in the British Museum (pl. 35). Individual *baoxianghua* scrolls, found on Hongwu Chinese wares, however, consist of both flowers depicted from a bird's-eye point of view and others drawn in profile. In the former, the shape of the flower is circular and the petals stretch in all directions. A roundel surrounded by a band of small petals is drawn in the centre and an anther is expressed within the roundel. This gives the visual effect of a bird's-eye perspective on each flower. However, in the case of the flowers viewed in profile, the anther is drawn as a morning glory or tulip. In this case, the anther is not encircled by a band. In addition, the petals turn upwards.

In early Ming underglaze blue wares, therefore, it is rare to find all the flowers depicted from a bird's-eye point of view, as in the Korean example. The pattern of a central flower and four or five encircling flowers (pl. 31-a, b), is most frequently found in imperial underglaze blue wares of the Yongle period. This is apparent, for example, in a underglaze blue dish, painted with scrolling camellias and peonies excavated from Zhushan,[648] and in a large underglaze blue dish decorated with flowers of the four seasons in the collection of the Tianminlou Foundation (pl. 39).[649] However, in these examples, the flowers depicted are of various kinds and are drawn from several different perspectives.

b. Shape of anthers and flowers

On each *posanghwa* flower, the anther is encircled by a band attached to lotus panel-like decorations. Inside this band is a ring of small stamens. Inside this ring, the anther is expressed in Y-shape. The Y-shaped anther consist of one central and two diverging stems on the left and right sides respectively. On the top of each stem is a small petal-like tip. Closer examination reveals two styles of execution of the anther: a Y-shape painted on a reserved background and a

647 A number of such examples were excavated at Zhushan kiln sites at Jingdezhen. See *Jingdezhen chutu Mingchu guanyao ciqi*, Taipei, 1996, pl. 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31 and 33.

648 See *Jingdezhen chutu Mingchu guanyao ciqi*, 1996, pl. 44

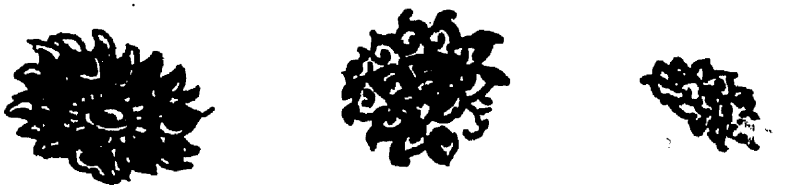
649 Wang Qingzheng (ed.), 1996, pl. 25.

Y-shape reserved against a painted background. In some examples of *baoxianghua* flowers depicted from a bird's-eye's perspective, executed on Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares of the Hongwu period, there appears a basically similar pattern. Such examples can be seen in pl. 35.

As far as the shape of the *posanghwa* flower itself is concerned, the flowers painted on the Korean plate (pl. 31-a, b), depict the petals stretching in all directions while the tip of each petal is twisted in one direction. Petals at the front and rear are overlapping, emphasizing the density of their arrangement.

Baoxianghua flower shapes from Hongwu, Yongle and Xuande periods are, in general, relatively precise. In depictions of individual flowers on Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares throughout these reigns, three types of flower shape are present (fig. 1). Type 1 shows an elaborately executed design in which the petals tend to be fatter with sharp tips (pls. 35~48). The most elaborate petals are found mainly in Hongwu wares (pls. 35~38), and some Yongle (pls. 40~42) and Xuande vessels (pls. 45, 46). Type 2 are sketchily drawn with slightly less flower petals; this type is generally a triangular and is mostly found in wares from the Xuande period (pls. 49, 50). In wares produced from private kilns, many of which are preserved in Jiangxi Provincial Museum (pl. 51~53) this type was continuously employed up to the Zhengtong period (1436-49). Some examples from the Yongle and Xuande period show a transitional pattern (pls. 39, 43, 44, 47, 48) between Types 1 and 2. Type 3 represents the highly stylised triangular shape of flowers, and roughly drawn petals; this type is distinctive of wares produced at private kilns in Jingdezhen during the time between the Zhengtong and Jingtai (1450-56) periods. These features can be observed, for example, in wares found in the collections of the Jiangxi Provincial Museum, and Jingdezhen Taociguan, and vessels excavated at Zhushan (pls. 55~60). A transitional type which can be categorized between Type 2 and 3 also exists (pl. 54).

The flower shape observed in Hongwu wares is similar to that found on the Korean plate. It appears to be the case that the type of Korean *posanghwa* shows substantial influences from similar imperial Chinese



Type 1 Type 2 Type 3

(fig. 1) Types of flowers

Style 1 Style 2 Style 3 Style 4

(fig. 2) Styles of spiral petal

Type 1 Type 2 Type 3

(fig. 3) Types of Leaves

Style 2-a Style 2-b Style 2-c

(fig. 4) Leaves Style 2

wares in the structure of the flower scroll, anther, shape and style of execution. However, we can also see that the Korean design retains its own characteristics in the fact that all the flowers of the scroll are depicted from full-face. Furthermore, a number of the minute details of expression also present uniquely Korean design characteristics.

c. Pattern and execution of individual petals of flowers

One of the most important characteristics of the *posanghwa* design found on our Korean plate is the elaboration and emphasis on the detail of each individual petal. The type of each petal also varies and most can be broken down into two categories (pl. 31-b) as follows:

> 1. Petals in which a spiral shape is drawn. The outline of the individual petal is fairly thin and quite finely drawn. Along the outline, a spiral shape is reserved against a thickly painted background and is filled in with a weaker tone of pigmentation. In some cases a full spiral shape is reserved with weakly pigmented space while in other cases, only the shape of a small dot is reserved. The petals arranged at the back contain only a tiny dot.
>
> 2. Petals in which the inner side is contoured in the shape of an arch which is deeply shaded by a thick application of pigment.

A variety of designs are executed within the petals on imperial underglaze blue wares throughout the early Ming period. The most common petal decoration is a spiral, drawn within the contour of each individual petal. Other designs of individual petals consist of an arch shape drawn parallel to the contour of the petal, as well as some in which only half the area is painted. A petal through the middle of

which a vertical line is drawn also appears.

Throughout the early Ming period, the basic petal designs appear to have remained quite consistent. It is important to note, therefore, that evolution occurred not in the basic design but in the different manners of execution, that is to say, the "style" of execution, as alternative styles of execution gradually arose. Chinese examples from all three periods show clear differences (fig. 2). In Hongwu examples, the spiral-shaped area is relatively large. In executing the spiral design, an outline of the individual petal is made with a fine line of medium thickness, while in the region adjacent to the outline, a spiral shaped area is reserved against the fully painted area of a petal. In most cases, the space is left empty (Spiral petal Style 1) (pls. 35, 36, 37). However, there also appear to be some decorations in which the spiral shaped area is painted with a very weak tone of pigment (Spiral petal Style 2) (pl. 38). In imperial examples from the Yongle period, an individual petal pattern with a spiral decoration is also present. This pattern, again, can be sub-divided into two categories. The first is a style similar to that of Hongwu period. For example, in executing a spiral design, the outline is drawn with clear and fine lines of medium thickness. A spiral-shaped region is reserved. In some of the petals, the region is weakly painted while in others, there is no pigmentation at all. An example can be found in a underglaze blue steep sided bowl, painted with flower sprays, excavated from Zhushan kiln sites (pl. 40-a, b). The second style has a relatively thick outline, where the neighbouring area is again painted in a similar tone of pigment. It is therefore, inside this painted area that the spiral shape is reserved (Spirial petal Style 3). Most of the spiral decorations executed in the examples of the Yongle period (pl. 41~43) and some of the Xuande reign (pls. 15, 16) belong to this latter group. Since both pigment running into the glaze, and an opacity of pigment colouring often accompanied by blackish spots which blurred the colouring probably made precision impossible, in some examples from Yongle and Xuande, a very simplified form of spiral design is sketchily deployed. Blurring causes the end of the spiral design to be more distinctive and the whole shape of the spiral to become unclear. Thus, it appears as a large dot connected to the line of the spiral (Spiral petal style 4) (pls. 44, 47, 49, 50).[650]

The type of petal employed in the Osaka Museum Korean plate (pl. 31-a, b) shares characteristics with certain Chinese imperial pieces from the Hongwu period. The similarities are apparent in fine contours, which show a spiral shape reserved against a painted background, and filled in with a weaker tone of pigmentation. However, closer observation reveals a difference: the plate under discussion has a more delicate outline than the relatively thicker contour frequently observed in Hongwu examples. In addition, Hongwu examples have a larger individual petal decoration. This is due to the large size of the vessels on which the decorations were painted; the size of the flowers and, accordingly, the size of each individual petal is significantly larger. Moreover, although in a few examples the decorated inner area is reserved against a painted background with a weaker tone of pigmentation, in many other pieces the reserved area is left as totally empty space. By contrast, the size of petals in the plate under study is fairly small, the inner decoration area is also tiny and the reserved area is delicately painted with a slightly weaker tone of pigment. There can be two possible interpretations of this phenomenon. One is that the incised line along the outlines of the design, a technique which keeps the contour thin actually prevented blurring. The other interpretation is that the style of execution is not modelled upon that of Hongwu or Yongle, but is taken rather from another period. Either or both explanation may be correct, as we shall see.

A design exactly like that employed in the plate cannot be found in any examples of Chinese underglaze blue wares. Nevertheless, if we only consider the style of execution, precise observation suggests the possibility that these fine outlines and delicate pigmentations are modelled upon underglaze blue wares from the Zhengtong period. No examples at this type of execution are found in the extremely limited number of imperial underglaze blue wares of the Zhengtong period, but among products from private kilns at Jingdezhen, attention should be paid to the underglaze blue jars dated to the second year of the Zhengtong reign (1437), now in the Jiangxi Provincial Museum (pls. 51~53). These jars are decorated with *baoxianghua* scrolls whose individual petals are contoured with fine and thin lines. A space in each petal is reserved on the inside with a spiral or an arch shape. It

650 *Jingdezhen chutu Mingchu guanyao ciqi*, 1996, pl. 138.

is apparent that in executing the decoration, relatively thin and delicate lines came to be used as opposed to bold and thick contour lines. Such a delicate use of line has never been observed in Chinese examples from earlier periods. It appears that this style of execution of the individual petals on this Korean plate is close to that of porcelains from private kilns of the early Zhengtong period. Nevertheless, differences can still be found when compared to the stylistic features of the pieces from the Zhengtong period. Between the contour and the weakly-pigmented spiral or the arch-shaped decoration of the petals on the Korean plate is an area of thick pigmentation. On the Chinese jars (pl. 51~53) this area is left without pigmentation. Furthermore, while some blurred pigment does occur in decorations on the Zhengtong examples, the decorations on the Korean plate do not show such a running of pigment. What should be noted again are the incised outlines of the design. We have already noted that it is these thin, fine lines that enabled the design to be painted without blurring.

Such stylistic features clearly raise fairly intriguing and complex questions. They also show that the plate was modelled from more than one source. Before estimating the period by which this plate is largely influenced, it is essential to consider every other stylistic element employed on the plate in a systematic manner.

d. Pattern and styles of execution of leaves

The individual leaves depicted on this Korean plate (pl. 31-a, b) consist of a pistil-like long central leaflet and two supporting leaflets. The contour of leaves is first incised and then painted with blue pigment using fairly thin brushwork. The contour is wavy yet not stylized and the shapes of the leaves vary, resembling imperial examples from the Yongle and Xuande periods.

In Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares, a certain principle is observed in the basic designs of individual leaves (fig. 3). The first type consists of a single long pistil-like leaflet in the centre and two supporting leaflets which spring out from both sides. Often a bud or seed-shaped decoration is added in between these leaflets (Leaf Type

1). The second type is similar to Type 1 but without the bud or seed-shaped decoration (Leaf Type 2). The third type is composed of three subdivided minor sections which are highly stylised and are of more or less equal length (Leaf Type 3). The shape of the central leaflet, and two supporting leaflets with a shape of a comma appear patternised. The most important feature of this pattern is the repetition of a few types of stylised leaves.

A much higher percentage of Types 1 and 2 are to be found in wares from the Hongwu to Xuande period (pl. 35~50), while Type 3 mainly occurs in wares from the Zhengtong period onwards (pl. 51~55, 57~61).

The evolution of leaf style is also visible in the changing manners of execution. In the imperial underglaze blue wares of the Hongwu reign, there are two styles of execution: the first shows individual leaves which look as if they were executed in a single movement without employing any contour since both contour and interior exhibit the same tone (pl. 35~37) (Leaf Style 1). It appears that in this case, from the beginning, there was no intention to express any inner decoration. The second style depicts an individual leaflet, in which a space is reserved between the contour and the innerside of the leaflet parallel with its contour. This reserved space is either painted with a watery tone of pigment or is left unpainted (pls. 35, 38). The reserved area gives the impression that the design is artificially planned. However, a natural curvature is still maintained to a certain degree (Leaf Style 2) (fig. 4). It is the second style that shows a consistent evolution. In Yongle examples, in particular, a thick pigmentation is applied in the lower area of the supporting leaflets on the left and right sides and on the upper part of the long, central leaflet (pls. 40~42). Among designs which exhibit the second style, three different groups can be observed. The first is without any blurring, a seed-like decoration is expressed inside, around which, a circular space is reserved. Thick pigmentation is coated in the lower area of the supporting leaflets and the upper part of the central leaflet (pl. 40~42) (Leaf Style 2-a). In the second group, although a seed-like decoration is also visible with the central leaflet, it appears as a plain leaf filled with ordinary pigmentation devoid of any inside decoration as the individual leaves are very thin. Furthermore, despite the attempt to

coat thick pigments in each leaflet, a certain degree of evaporation, blurring and stylisation has occurred, which makes the thickly pigmented area very vague (pls. 43, 44) (Leaf Style 2-b). It must have been difficult to draw the minute details in the midst of such blurring and blue spots.

The patterns of leaves on Xuande wares are more or less similar to those of Yongle. There are examples in which different tones of pigment are used in drawing leaves as with Yongle examples (pl. 45~46, 48) (Leaf Style 2-a, 2-b). However, in many cases, the inner decoration is simplified so that no heavy pigmentation is used either in the supporting leaflets or in the long, central leaflet. Although Yongle examples of which motif accompanied with Buddhist emblems tend to have been decorated more elaborately, even in them, simplification is advanced compared to Hongwu examples. Where thick pigmentation is deemed is necessary, it is carried out by casually pressing down or pointing the tip of the brush (pl. 49~50) (Leaf Style 2-c). Furthermore, the frequent occurrence of brownish blue spots and an opacity of pigment, interrupts the fluent expression of more minute details. In other examples, no elaborate inner decoration is found.

Although in some cases, a single stamen-like element appears, in most examples of imperial underglaze blue wares from the Zhengtong period, three stylised leaflets are used (Leaf Type 3) (pl. 51~53). In a case from the official kiln at Zhushan, it appears that no particular inner decoration was made but there is a dot pointed in the middle of the central leaflet (pl. 60).[651] In another example, a much more precise inner decoration is deployed. A space is reserved between the contour and the inside of the central leaflet. The reserved space is weakly painted. At the centre of the thickly painted inner side is again weakly pigmented arch-shaped space. However, all these details are highly patterned (pl. 61).

The leaves executed in pl. 31 are filled with a pigment of similar tone, and the contour is drawn along an incised line. Examination shows that the tip of the two supporting leaflets, as well as the long pistil-like leaflet itself, are relatively thickly coated with pigment. Such

651 Hasebe, Gakuji et al (ed.)., 1995, pl. 87.

a thick coating is made by simply pressing the brush tip down at those points. This phenomenon is closely related to Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares of Leaf Style 2-c. The execution of individual leaves is, therefore, similar to that of the underglaze blue wares produced from imperial workshops at Jingdezhen during the Xuande period.

e. Pigment

On this plate, a pure ultramarine blue pigment is relatively thickly applied. Certain areas where pigments are thickly coated have turned a blackish-blue and are also often deeply indented. Small, one to two millimetre blue speckles in size are scattered over the whole surface.[652]

Dating extant examples solely on the basis of the condition of their blue pigment can result in errors. However, it can be very helpful if information obtained from them is analysed and interpreted together with other elements, including styles of decorative design, along with other technical elements such as foot finish, body condition and glaze. A number of scholars have paid attention to the condition of cobalt pigment used in underglaze blue wares in China. The features of the cobalt have been examined either using the naked eye or by scientific analysis. A representative case of the latter approach was undertaken by Stuart Young in the Archaeological Research Laboratory, Oxford in 1956.[653] This research showed that underglaze blue wares from the Yuan dynasty were painted with imported cobalt from the Middle East while Xuande wares were decorated either using only locally excavated cobalt ore, or using a mixture of imported cobalt and native ore.

Similar results have been also been obtained from a recent analysis of early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares excavated from the Zhushan kiln sites. Specimens of the Yuan, Hongwu and Yongle periods show a relatively high concentration of iron Fe^2O_3 and a

652 These two features are visible both to the naked eye and in microscope examination. I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Ikutaro Itoh, the Director, and Mr. Koetsuka, the Chief Curator of Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka who helped me to conduct the microscope analysis.

653 *OANS*, vol. II, no. 2 (summer 1956), pp. 43-47.

relatively low concentration of manganese (MnO) in their blue colouring material. Two Xuande specimens show a lower concentration of iron and a higher concentration of manganese, which suggests that Chinese cobalt replaced imported cobalt in the Xuande period. This difference explains the deeper, richer quality of Xuande underglaze blue decoration.[654]

According to another study, although manganese was contained in the cobalt pigment used during the Xuande period, the ratio used is far lower than that of many later periods including, in particular, the Zhengde, Jiajing and Wanli periods of the Ming dynasty. It also indicates the use of a higher ratio of imported cobalt ore during the Xuande reign compared to later periods.[655] As reported by Liu, at the beginning of the Chenghua period, imported cobalt ore was again being used.[656]

Based upon the Oxford experiment, Garner summarises the effect of blue pigment. The quality of the blue colour depends on many factors. One is the presence of manganese which tends to give an impure tinge to the blue. All things being equal, imported cobalt would give a better colour than the native ore. But an even more important factor is the presence of iron. Many of the fourteenth-century pieces contain large amounts of iron, which was introduced not only as an impurity into the cobalt ore, but also into the materials of body and glaze. The quality of the blue obtained from cobalt ore also depends a great deal on the conditions of firing, and particularly on the exact temperature.[657]

Among Garner's summary of colour effects, some points are still widely accepted as norms for discerning pieces. They include:

> (1) blackish tinge, which developed the so-called, 'heaped and piled' effect when the blackish parts erupt through the glaze. This also resulted in an

654 Li Jiazhi, Zhang Zhigang, Deng Zequn and Liu Xinyuan, 1996, p. 60.
655 Wang, 1982, p. 60, table 2, 3, quoted from Zhou Ren, 1958.
656 Liu, 1996, p. 60.
657 Garner, *OANs*. vol. II no. 2 (summer 1956), pp. 49-50.

undulating surface;

(2) sometimes blackish dots are found, generally on the lower sides of the outlines. If the cobalt is free from impurities, particularly iron and manganese, and is not too concentrated, a pure blue colour is obtained. When the cobalt is concentrated the colour becomes blackish and, with still heavier concentrates, red-black. Rust spots showing excessive concentration are occasionally found in all periods but are particularly evident in the 'heaped and piled' effect of the earlier wares. When the concentration of cobalt is low, as happens when a thick glaze is applied, the colour is pale and diffuse. The presence of iron and manganese, the usual impurities, results in a greyish tint in the blue;

3) the glaze is thick and greenish-blue and the surface is slightly uneven, which is often described as 'orange peel'. A greenish or bluish tint in the white is also caused by iron impurities in the glaze and is the result of the piece being fired in a reducing atmosphere. In an oxidising atmosphere the colour would be a pale buff.[658]

The colour conditions observed in the plate under discussion show similarities to those with a low percentage of manganese and a higher percentage of iron commonly found in Zhushan products from Yuan up to the Xuande period. The previous analysis of *Sillok* (see p.191) shows that *simjungch'ong* was actually being imported from Japan in 1430. As has already pointed out, it is quite possible that blue pigments imported from Japan were purchased from Ryuku which was on the line of trade of the Southeast Asian countries and Islamic area. Liu suggests that the most plausible source of the *sunima* or *sulama* was the Islamic area. In any case, it can be assumed that this type of pigment was imported from somewhere by Japanese merchants.

658 Garner, 1970 (first published 1954), Introduction p. 5.

Another possibility for the provenance of blue pigments during the early period of King Sejong's reign could have been China.

f. Other distinctive features and summary of the analysis

Wares of a shape similar to the Osaka plate were actively manufactured in China during the late Yuan period until the Hongwu and Yongle reigns of the Ming dynasty.[659] In Korea, from the Koryo period, a substantial number of metalwork pieces of this shape were manufactured. However, wares of this shape are also frequently observed in Choson white porcelain, and are generally attributed to the fifteenth century.

The colour of the glaze is strongly tinted with gray and the inner base wall of the plate is fairly thickly formed. A great number of spots caused by copper impurities are scattered across the surface of the glaze. This implies that its place of manufacture is different from most other extant porcelain plates of a similar shape, as well as from sherds excavated or collected from any known the official kiln sites at Kwangju, where wares inscribed with Chinese characters have been excavated. In these plates and sherds, glazes are relatively pure with fewer spots caused by copper impurities.

As stated above, the plate has a number of complex elements. In its overall design and in the execution of its details, it does not appear to have been modelled on any similar Chinese ware. However, in the basic design of the *posanghwa* flower, a number of elements are shared with the decoration of Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares of the Hongwu reign. As for style of execution of petals and leaves, the plate also evinces numerous characteristics common to Chinese imperial wares of the Xuande or the early Zhengtong period.

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659 Representative examples of this type of Yuan wares include plate collected in Henan Provincial Museum and one previously in the Ataka collection. Refer to Mikami (ed.), 1981, pl. 48, pl. 88. Concerning Ming examples, refer to *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, 1996, pl. 17; J. M. Addis, 1979, pls. 7, 14.

The assumption is, therefore, that the latest influences exercised on the decoration of this plate are from Chinese imperial wares of the Xuande or early Zhengtong periods. In shape, it should be no later than the fifteenth century. The presence of pigment with a high percentage of *sunima* or *sulama* confirms that the date of this plate should be no later than the end of the Zhengtong period (1449).

[2]: Large jar decorated with *posanghwa* scroll. Private collection, Japan (pl. 32-a, b)

a. General arrangement of the design and structure of floral scroll

Lotus panels are arranged on the shoulder and lower part of the body. The principal motif placed between these two bands of lotus panels is a scroll which encircles each individual *posanghwa* flower, all of which are depicted from a bird's-eye perspective. From this scroll, a considerable quantity of leaves spring and wave. The overall structure of the floral scroll is more or less similar to that on the plate from the collection of the Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka (pl. 31-a, b).

b. Shape of anther and flowers

Its anther consists of a large spot encircled by eleven or twelve small petals. A narrow ring is reserved between the central blue spot and the band of small petals. The basic shape has features in common with imperial Chinese examples from the Hongwu period (see pls. 35-38). Compared to the flowers on the Osaka plate although there are a similar number of petals, the flowers were executed in a rather rough manner, each individual petal is relatively thin and quite sharpened at the tip. These features create flowers of rather triangular shape. The flowers depicted on this jar (pls. 32-a, b) are closer to those on some Xuande and Zhengtong underglaze blue wares (Flower Type 2) (see fig. 1).

c. Pattern and execution of individual petals of flowers

In the case of the Osaka plate, a variety of petal designs appear. On this jar, however, they are reduced to two varieties:

> 1. Petals on which the outline and the area adjacent to the outline are thickly painted in a spiral shape; the inside of each individual petal, excepting the area where the spiral shape is drawn, is coated with relatively paler tones of pigment; in the inner centre, a dot is placed at the end of the spiral which is fairly distinctive and stylised; blurring does not seriously occur in this decoration; the painting is relatively clear.
>
> 2. Petals on which a large dot is simply painted; the contour is executed with thick pigment the inside of which is filled with a relatively weaker tone of pigment.

The second type of petal is quite different from the design executed in imperial pieces of the Hongwu, Yongle and Xuande periods. Although at a glance, it looks fairly similar, in Yongle and Xuande examples of Petal Style 3, there appears inside the contour a small spiral-shaped area reserved around the central decoration (see fig. 2). A weak pigmentation is found between the reserved area and the contour. In addition, instead of a fairly round dot, examples from the Yongle and Xuande periods show a vertically elongated, seed-like or arch-shaped decoration.

The dot on the Korean jar is not caused by blurring but is deliberately drawn. In this aspect, this design is fairly similar to those observed in Zhengtong examples as found in for example, in a underglaze blue bowl decorated with the Eight Buddhist Emblems design (pl. 61) (see fig. 3). However, as seen above, in this case, a dot is painted on each

leaf but not on the flower petals. It seems that this was a style of execution for the inner decoration of petals or leaves. After the Zhengtong reign, this type of design is not found.

d. Pattern and style of execution of individual leaves

At the lowest part of the stem which springs from the main scroll depicted in the Korean jar, one or two small leaflets often hang. On the upper side of such leaflets, in general, is an individual leaf which consists of four sub-leaflets. Between each side of the central leaflet and the comma-shaped leaflets at its lower left and right, another leaflet often juts out.

At first glance, this pattern looks quite different from those consisting of a pistil or stamen-like leaflet along with supporting leaflets as seen in Chinese underglaze blue wares or in Korean wares discussed above. However, a more systematic analysis shows that these patterns also resemble the principal leaves designs observed in Chinese examples from the early Ming era. Individual leaves depicted on this jar mainly consist of a pistil-like, long central leaflet, two supporting leaflets horizontally placed at the base of the central leaflet, and two stamen-like sub-leaflets, each of which is shaped like a comma and protrudes from either side of the central leaflet. This style is often found in Chinese wares.

Such pistil or stamen-like leaflets and supporting leaflet patterns are modelled upon similar designs found on imperial underglaze blue wares of the Xuande period. In the Korean jar, a thick coat of pigment is added to some parts of the contour or tip of the lower part of each supporting leaflet, as well as on the central leaflet itself. This particular style, the application of thick coats of pigment to some parts of individual sub-leaflets, can also be found in similar motifs depicted in underglaze blue wares of the Xuande style (Leaf Style 2) (see fig. 3). However, unlike in Xunade leaflet inside which a circular space is researved, in the style of execution of the Korean jar, inside of each individual leaf usually contoured with thick outline, is simply painted with a slightly weaker tone.

What should be noted in the leaf decoration of the Korean jar with which we are currently concerned is the large, simple dot found inside each individual leaves. A large dot is painted within the decoration of Leaf Style 3, as can be observed, for example, in the imperial underglaze blue bowl decorated with a lotus scroll the Eight Buddhist emblems from the Zhengtong period alteady referred to (pl. 60).

e. Pattern and style of execution of lotus panels

The contour of each lotus panel consists of two outlines between which there is pigmentation. However, the painted area between the two outlines is itself divided in two. One is darkly painted and appears next to the outer outline, while the other, next to the inner outline, is painted with a rather weak tone of pigment.

At the centre of each lotus panel, a decoration consisting of two layers of elaborately drawn anther-like motifs is arranged. In addition, from each side of the inner wall of each lotus panel, a V-shaped motif springs off. A weaker tone of pigment is painted within the outline of this motif. Here, a dot is pointed inside each wing of the V-pattern.

The decoration of lotus panels has been used on similar Chinese wares from the Yuan dynasty to the early Ming period. We should note a number of details found in the styles of execution of such panels. The employment of lotus panels as subsidiary bands most frequently occurs in imperial underglaze blue wares of the Xuande period. In their execution, Xuande examples inherited the basic structure from those of the Hongwu and Yongle periods whose panels are usually contoured with two individual lines. In many cases, the outer contour and adjacent areas are fairly thickly painted. The next half area of the inside of the contour is either reserved without painting or is weakly painted. In a number of examples, the inside of the panel is fully painted and an anther-like shaped area is reserved with empty space against it. In other cases, decorations are made in the reverse way. An anther-like decoration is again arranged in the area inside each lotus panel. In this way, the basic design of the lotus panels executed

on Xuande examples is fairly close to that of the Korean jar. However, differences are also found. In many Chinese decorations, the anther-like motif is added between each lotus panel to give the appearance of another layer of panels arranged underneath. Furthermore, inside each panel depicted in many Chinese examples the anther-like decoration is not described in detail but is drawn only in contour, which thus appears highly stylized. This is quite contrastive to the case of similar decoration on the Korean jar. The shape is comprised of a circle and two supporting comma-shaped leaflets. On the top of the circle, another circle is arranged. Such examples can be observed in a underglaze blue jar with a design of prunus scrolls in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei of the Xuande period.[660] It is very difficult to find exactly the same type of decoration to that executed in Korean jar in similar Chinese wares.

f. Pigment

Two ways of using pigments are observed. In one, the pigment is opaque and relatively thickly applied, the colouring is consequently a dark sea-blue tinted with a fairly dark grey, quite similar to most Xuande wares. In the other, a weaker tone of blue is found, a colouring used particularly often in the execution of lotus panel sections. However, in some areas of lotus panels thickly painted with pigment, a number of oxidized brownish black spots are observed. The size of the spots is quite large, yet, they do not appear as frequently as they do on both Yongle and Xuande imperial underglaze blue wares and on the Korean underglaze blue plate discussed above (pl. 31-a, b).

As is widely known, from the reign of the Jingtai and Tianshun (1457-64) periods, the Chinese government suffered from a severe lack of blue pigment for the manufacture of underglaze blue ware. Not enough is yet known about the manufacture of this type of ware in imperial kiln factories. However, a substantial number of items which can be assigned to these periods are known to have been produced in

660 See *Gugong cangci qinghuaciqi*, vol.2-1, pl. 15.

private kilns. In Jingtai, and more distinctively in the Tianshun wares, a greenish and brownish tinge frequently appears in the pigment, and the general tones of blue become opaque and are not as clear as in earlier wares. Such examples can be observed in many underglaze blue wares in the collection of Jingdezhen Taociguan, for instance, a underglaze blue ware decorated with a floral scroll (pl. 58).[661] All these elements are quite different from those observed in the Korean jar.

g. Other distinctive features and summary of the analysis

In ware-shape, the large jar has high shoulders, a rolled and rounded mouth-rim with a large belly and a concave base. The body wall appears relatively thick. The surface of the glaze is uneven, with a number of pores. According to my examination of sherds from the Yongle and Xuande periods excavated from Zhushan kiln sites and now preserved at the Jingdezhen Archaeological Institute, a number of large jars show similar features in ware-shape and body wall thicknes s.[662] On the glaze surface, a number of pores can also be observed, caused by large bubbles which have risen to the surface and burst, the so-called, 'orange peel effect.' As has been pointed out by Harry Garner and Magaret Medley, there is also a tendency towards this type of glaze undulation due to the rather coarse grinding of the glaze materials in Chinese underglaze blue wares of the early fifteenth century up to the Xuande period.[663]

In the structure of its *posanghwa* scroll, the shape of its flower and the type of individual petals and leaves, distinctive influences can be noted from similar motifs found on imperial underglaze blue wares of the Hongwu and Yongle periods. But in their style of execution, and especially in the execution of the flower petals and leaves, elements are rather closer to those of Chinese Zhengtong wares.

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661 Refer to *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 25-46.

662 A large amount of sherds of jars of similar shape to this Korean jar under discussion were excavated from the Yongle stratum at Zhushan kiln sites. In 1996 when I visited the Jingdezhen Archaeological Research Institute, I examined these sherds.

663 Garner, 1954 p. xvii -xviii; Medley, 1976, p. 14.

[3]: a underglaze blue bottle decorated with *posanghwa* scroll in the collection of the Ho-am Art Museum (pl. 33)

a. General arrangement of the design and the floral scroll

On the shoulder, while a half palmette decoration is arranged, on the lower part of this bottle near the base, two lines are banded over. Inside the space created with these two subsidiary bands, a *posanghwa* scroll is arranged. Flowers are depicted from a bird's-eye perspective. Some are expressed with an anther while some are not, as if the flowers are viewed from both front and back. This indicates that some flowers were turned over by the wind. This depiction of flowers is very different from Korean examples previously analysed (pl. 31-a, b).

b. Shape of anther and flower

The anthers are not clearly visible due to blurring. However, closer observation also reveals that the anthers were not expressed elaborately from the beginning. A large dot is simply painted on, around which a circular space is reserved without pigmentation. The sketchy style of such anthers is often observed in Chinese underglaze blue wares produced from private kilns around the Zhengtong and Jingtai periods at Jingdezhen as can be observed in (pls. 54~59).

c. Shape and style of execution of the flowers

Compared to the size of the leaves and the scale of the scroll, the flowers are relatively large. The tip of each individual flower petal is neither twisted nor sharpened. With reference to similar decorations in previous examples, the number of petals is relatively sparse. Flowers with a sketchy or abbreviated form of this type can be observed in examples from the Zhengtong, Jingtai and Tienshun

periods produced at private kilns at Jingdezhen.

d. Pattern and style of execution of individual petals

Due to blurring, the petals are quite difficult to analyze. However, at least two styles are observed:

1. Half of each individual petal is painted.

2. In the middle of each individual petal, a vertical line is executed against a painted background with a slightly weaker tone of pigment compared to the contour. Usually, the contours are executed with a relatively thick line but with a weaker tone of pigment. The design of petal is similar to those of Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares of the Xuande period as can be observed in a underglaze blue bowl in the collection of National Palace Museum in Taipei (pl. 56).

e. Pattern and style of execution of individual leaves

The density of the leaves on one stem is very low. Individual leaves consist of one long central leaflet and two supporting leaflets. The central leaflet is fairly round, short and fat, and the contour of each side of the leaflet is waved in a fairly stylized manner. In this way, the pattern of each leaflet is stylised and symmetrical. The shape and style of execution of most leaflets are the same. In a similar way, stylisation is also observed in the two supporting leaflets, which are executed by using a short line without employing any contour.

The features of the leaves appear very similar to Leaf Type 3, as observed in Chinese underglaze blue wares produced in private kilns at Jingdezhen from the Zhengtong period onwareds, most frequently,

during the Jingtai period (1450-56) (fig. 3).

f. Pigment

The pigment is blue with a strong grayish and greenish tint. Large brownish spots are observed. Similar characteristics are found in Chinese underglaze blue wares produced at Jingdezhen private kilns during the time frame between Jingtai and Tianshun periods as can be observed in a underglaze blue bottle decorated with flower scroll in the collection of Jingdezhen Taociguan (pl. 58).

g. Other features and summary of the analysis

The basic design of the flower petals is similar to that of Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares of the Xuande period. However, in execution, all the flower petals are fairly coarsely drawn like those of Chinese underglaze blue wares produced from private kilns at Jingdezhen in the Zhengtong and Jingtai reigns. The pigment condition resembles that of Chinese wares of the Jingtai or Tianshun periods, while the leaves are similar to those of Jingtai wares. Given all these characteristics, we can safely assume that the latest influences excercised in the decoration executed on this bottle was from either the Jingtai or Tianshun period.

[4]: Small underglaze blue jar decorated with floral spray and inscribed with the Korean character Osang'i, 오ᄉᆞᆼ이, Ho-am Art Museum (pl. 34)

a. General arrangement of the design and the floral spray

Four flowers are drawn on the outer wall of the jar. From each

flower, several stems stretch outwards. The flower itself is similar to a peony, depicted from a bird-eye's perspective.

b. Shape of anther and flower

The flowers are viewed from a bird's-eye point of view. Around each flower, numerous stems are stretching outward from where a number of leaflets spring. In general, the shape and style of execution of the flowers seems to have been achieved in a sketchy manner. No particular design inside individual petals appear.

c. Pattern and style of execution of leaves

Individual leaves consist of three leaflets which are made up of one pistil-like decoration, and two supporting leaflets. The central leaflet is very large, and the supporting leaflets on the left and right tend to be executed as simple lines forming fairly stylised comma shapes. The shape of the central leaflet itself is roughly oval, short and fat. In this way, the pattern of each leaflet is distinctively stylised and symmetrical. The shape and style of execution of most of the leaves are the same, making them determinable as Leaf Type 3 (fig. 3) as frequently observed during the Jingtai period.

d. Conditions of pigment

Although the colour of the pigment appears dark green, along the contour of each brush stroke, we can observe a pale blue tint.

e. Other distinctive features and summary of the analysis

First of all, the quality of the body materials and the glaze is very different from that of typical products of the royal kiln complexes in Kwangju. The body is deep gray and the glaze is not translucent but relatively opaque, tinted with a dark gray colour.

Another distinctive feature of this small jar is the inscription made with the same pigment that is used in the main decoration. The inscription is "Osang'i", 오상 이, written in Korean characters, which is obviously a person's name. Throughout the history of the manufacture of Korean underglaze blue wares in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, examples are rarely found in which the full name of a person is written. One such example is a underglaze blue bowl decorated with a plum tree and bamboo motif inscribed with the characters "Chong Sik" 鄭軾 inside the foot ring. As is widely accepted in academic circles, this piece was probably manufactured by order of the King to be endowed to a government official whose name was Jong Sik.[664] However, neither the body materials nor the pigment of this jar are not good enough for the piece to be a royal gift. Moreover, the style of the name, Osang'i, 오상 이 which is written in Hangul (Korean characters) alone, indicates that the person is likely to be a slave. In the case of people of noble birth, in general their names were written using Chinese characters.

In King Yejo's coronation year (1469) *Sillok* records that King Yejo urged excavation of blue pigment domestically due to a serious shortage. Some native ore excavated from the Kangjin area produced pigment with a good blue colour effect. King Yejong ordered to seek out pigment of this type and used it to successfully manufacture underglaze blue wares.[665] As noted above, the general condition of the body materials and glaze shows differences with wares produced

664 Chong Sik passed the state examinations in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Sejong (1432), and eventually became a high ranking-official in the government. Given that he died in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Sejo (1467), Choi Sun-u suggests that the date of the bowl inscribed with Jong Sik must be no later than that year, a theory which is generally accepted. Choi Sun-U, 1960, pp. 15-19.

665 *CWS* vol. 8: *Yejong Sillok, kwŏn* 8, p. 121.

from official kilns at Kwangju. Although it is not certain whether or not the pigment applied on the jar (pl. 33) was from Kangjin, it is very likely that the pigment used was from native ore, and that the name inscribed is that of the person who excavated and developed the ore. Thus, it is highly possible that this jar was manufactured with native Korean pigment around 1469 by a local resident of the area where the ore was obtained. This would confirm the conclusions reached from the above analysis, namely that the style of the leaves points towards Jingtai influences.

14. 2 Date attribution

Among all the extant examples, [1] and [2] are distinguished from the rest. They show a basic structure of floral scrolls which share common features with similar motifs of Hongwu and Yongle imperial underglaze blue wares. In style of execution, they were influenced by wares of the Xuande or Zhengtong periods. On the other hand, although [3] bases the general structure of floral scrolls on those of Xuande, in style of execution, it is influenced more by the Zhengtong, the Jingtai, or the Tianshun periods. As an experimental piece [4] shows certain differences in the general structure of its flowers. However, in the style of execution, it shows similarities to the last three periods.

Only a tentative attribution of approximate dates can be made in individual cases. Logically, it is most reasonable to assume that the introduction of Yongle (1403-24), and Xuande (1426-35) styles to Korea took place before the Zhengtong period (1436-49). Since there exist Jingtai (1450-56) and Tianshun (1457-64) styles in Korean examples, the Zhengtong style must have been replaced by the Jingtai style when the latter was introduced in Korea, probably no later than the end of this reign. Where the latest influences are those of Zhengtong, it is safe to assume that the date of manufacture can be no later than the end of the Jingtai reign, around 1456.

However, this is the most cautious assumption. It is quite possible

that the actual date of manufacture could be far earlier than this. In particular, in the case of the underglaze blue plate in Osaka (pl. 31-a, b), I have suggested that the manufacturing date of this plate should be no later than the end of the Zhengtong period, i.e. 1449.

According to our analysis of the documentary sources, from the late fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, there was an increase in the production of underglaze blue wares for use inside the court and as luxuries for the upper classes. Meanwhile, it was during the reigns of King Sejong and Sejo that underglaze blue wares replaced top-grade court vessels made of gold or silver. From the reign of King Yonsan and, more particularly, from the reign of King Chungjong onwards, top grade wares were again made from gold and silver, and underglaze blue wares came to be employed even in epitaph tablets of low-grade court ladies and low-ranking nobility as can be observed in extant examples.[666] Moreover, the most frequent uses of underglaze blue wares inside the royal court are observed during the reigns of King Sejong and Sejo rather than that of King Songjong. During King Songjong's reign, due to a lack of blue pigment, most of the wares bestowed by the King to government institutions or to his officials were white porcelain rather than underglaze blue wares. Given this, it is reasonable to assume that more effort was given to the manufacuture of underglaze blue wares during the earlier rather than the later period. Although one may suppose that during the earlier period the quality of the body materials, glazes and styles of execution of decorations ought to be coarse due to underdeveloped manufacturing techniques, the decorative designs on the wares themselves must have taken a great deal of effort and elaboration. Thus, it appears that it was during the reigns of King Sejong and King Sejo that a substantial number of most elaborately rendered underglaze blue vessels were manufactured. This neatly fits into the results of the analysis of the extant examples.

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666 From the sixteenth century onwards, a number of underglaze blue epitaph tablets were manufactured as can be evidenced in extant examples. Represent examples include a underglaze blue tablet of gentleman Pak with the date inscription of the fourth year of the Wanli period (1576) and another underglaze blue epitaph tablet of *sanggung* 上宮 (official posts of court ladies in charge of domestic affairs inside the court) Kim with the inscription of the fourteenth year of the reign of Wanli (1586), both in the collection of Ho-am Art Museum. *Chosŏn Paekchajŏn II*, 1985, p. 47. fig. 21.

Chapter 15

Background to the earliest manufacture of underglaze blue wares

Why were so many extant examples of earliest Korean underglaze blue wares decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll? Here, we need to explore the second issue raised at the beginning of Part V: the background to the manufacture of the earliest Chosŏn underglaze blue wares. To begin, it is necessary to examine the derivation of the pieces analysed above. Although the basic structure of the design and style of execution of numerous details are similar to Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares, the bird's-eye views in which all the flowers are drawn, and differences in overall scroll structures, distinguish them from similar decorations of Chinese imperial underglaze blue wares. Where can we find another source for this decorative style? In addition, we need to inquire as to the shape of each individual *posanghwa* flower and the structure of the floral scroll as executed in each of the Korean extant examples (pl. 31, 32), which appear to have been manufactured over a substantially long period of time, and to have been consistent without any distinctive evolution. In contrast, why have the styles of details such as individual flower petals, and scroll leaves evolved?

15. 1 International communication systems within the context of rites based on the ancient Chinese model

As stated above, it is difficult to locate basically similar decorations in Ming underglaze blue wares, within the limit of the materials hitherto discovered. The main uses of underglaze blue wares in Ming China, and the derivation of their ware-shapes and colour elements were explored in Part III. It has been shown that a large proportion of Ming underglaze blue wares were manufactured according to Buddhist ritual specifications.

In *Sillok* of the Chosŏn dynasty, as the annals of the Confucian state, it

is rare to find any details of Buddhist events. Accordingly, no mention of underglaze blue vessels such as Buddhist ceremonial wares are found. Chosŏn's relations with China were based upon a ritual framework originating in ancient China. Every rite in the Choson royal court had a similar basis as its Ming counterpart. When the manufacturing techniques for underglaze blue vessels were imported from China, it is more than likely that they were also used in similar contexts. In China, a large proportion of underglaze blue vessels were made in accordance with Buddhist ritual specifications. While some were used at the daily table or as wine vessels, many were clearly used as Buddhist ceremonial vessels. There were various channels between the Ming and Chosŏn courts in the context of state rites. The influences of Ming underglaze blue wares decorated with *baoxianghua* scroll may have reached Korea through numerous routes rather than through one alone. One such route must have been the international etiquette of gift exchanges between Ming Emperors and Chosŏn Sovereigns. As is well known, the Yongle and Xuande Ming Emperors gave gifts which included underglaze blue wares to the Chosŏn sovereigns. As part of such gifts, underglaze blue wares with designs of scrolls associated with various flowers including *baoxianghua* must have been included.

However, this would not be sufficient to have been the sole driving force to stimulate the manufacture of the same types of wares in Korea.

As previously stated, according to Chosŏn records of the early fifteenth century, there were occasions when the Chinese Emperor dispatched envoys to Korea to perform sacrificial ceremonies for certain persons. The Ming envoys were even accompanied by their own cooks for this ceremony.[667] Thus, it is very likely that this tradition began earlier, and possibly during the Yuan dynasty. In the above cases, Confucian-style ceremonies were probably carried out. However, there must have been opportunities for the Ming envoys to visit monasteries inside Chosŏn or at Naebultang, the Buddhist ancestral shrines. Since *Sillok* only recorded representative occasions, we do not have access to detailed information on all such events. However, some records were

667 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok kwŏn* 8 (1955) p. 379, upper-a.

made. For example, it was recorded that in the coronation year of King Sejong (1419), the Ming envoy Huang Yuan visited the Hŭngch'ŏn monastery to collect *sarira* placed inside a *stupa*, and to dedicate a ceremony.[668] He was also invited to Naebultang. Since the Ming Emperor had asked King Sejong to send him some *sarira* preserved in Choson, these were shown to the Ming envoy at this shrine. Upon viewing them, Huang Yuan dedicated a Buddhist ceremony and paid a tribute with food to the monks.[669] Given these conditions, as in the case of Ming, it is probable that the Choson royal court needed to make some wares, for court usage or Buddhist ceremonies, in a similar fashion to those of the Chinese, since the early kings paid great attention to maintaining the balance of international etiquette. Furthermore, after being released from the annual tribute of gold and silver to the Ming imperial court, the Chosŏn government was seeking substitute materials with which to make vessels for the court. In these circumstances, underglaze blue wares used as Buddhist ceremonial vessels in the Ming court must have provided a good model.

15. 2 Decoration in Buddhist art from the late Koryŏ dynasty to the early Chosŏn dynasty

As will be recalled, the third task we set for Part V was to determine the other sources of influences on the basic design of *posanghwa* 寶相華 (Precious Envisage) scrolls found on Korean wares. The above analysis demonstrates that the earliest Chosŏn underglaze blue wares decorated with *posanghwa* flowers were manufactured in Korea as Buddhist ceremonial wares or important court wares which bear amuletic decorations for the Buddhist royal family. In this case, is it likely that Ming imperial underglaze blue wares were directly imitated?

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that there are differentiations in decorations despite some basic similarities. I have therefore assumed that there must be an important reason for this

668 *CWS*, vol. 5: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5, p. 334, lower-a.
669 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 5 p. 336, upper-a.

differentiation. As time passed the Chosŏn royal court possibly produced underglaze blue wares in order to satisfy a need for luxury goods, in which case, more contemporary Chinese influences might have been reflected. At the beginning of the manufacture, however, the production must have been limited to providing for essential needs, such as certain official uses or ceremonies. In this case, it would be more reasonable to assume that the designs executed on the earliest Korean underglaze blue wares were specified according to Chosŏn ritual requirements dating from the beginning of the dynasty. Accordingly, we must turn our attention to decorations executed on Buddhist ceremonial items. Buddhist worship in the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty was, however, in fact inherited from the late Koryŏ dynasty. Accordingly, the tradition of Buddhist ceremonial wares must also have been transmitted to Chosŏn, along with new influences from the Ming imperial court.

However, before turning our attention to the Buddhist ceremonial items, it is important to question why underglaze blue wares were not manufactured during the Koryŏ dynasty. During the Koryŏ dynasty, although there might have been a flow of Yuan underglaze blue wares, it is unlikely that a great number of underglaze blue wares were imported into Korea, nor were they domestically manufactured. This is because no Yuan underglaze blue are preserved in Korea at the present time. We must now pursue the question as to how the colour icons characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism could be expressed? As noted when looking at Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies, the techniques used at this time involved the inlay of wares with jewellery or the draping of cloths of various colours around ceremonial wares. It is very likely that such a practice in Koryŏ Buddhist ceremonies was expressed through the hanging of blue cloths over the shoulders of either metallic or ceramic wares.

Now, it is worth examining a similar decoration, executed on a bronze incense burner decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll inlaid in silver and a dated inscription previously held in the collection of the royal courts of the Chosŏn dynasty, and now preserved in the National Museum of Korea (pl. 62). The inscription demonstrates that this object was made for Queen Sindŏk 神德, the wife of King T'aejo, the founder of the Choson dynasty, in Chonggok monastery which was located in the

Queen's native town. It was manufactured in the thirtieth year of the reign of Hongwu, which corresponds to the seventh year of King T'aejo's reign (1397). Several roundels were placed on the outside of its bowl, inside each of which a Sanskrit character is inlaid. Each of the roundels is surrounded by floral scrolls, with which four individual *posanghwa* flowers are associated. A lotus panel-like decoration which is portrayed from a bird's-eye perspective is attached to a contour of the circle surrounding the inner decoration of an anther. In each flower, all the *posanghwa* petals are evenly placed pointing in all directions. Each flower shape is relatively roundly drawn. Thus, the depiction of the flowers appears to have been done almost from a bird's-eye view or at a 20-30 degree angle. Except for the fact that in the expression of the pistil and stamens, two or three small circular decorations are executed above the anther of each flower, the basic design of the *posanghwa* scroll executed on this incense burner is fairly similar to those appearing in examples [1] (pl. 31) and [2] (pl. 32), the earliest Korean underglaze blue wares analyzed above.

The tradition of using this type of *posanghwa* scroll can be further traced back to the Koryŏ dynasty. A similar tradition can be found, for example, in the *posanghwa* flowers executed on the outside of the bowl of a silver-inlaid bronze incense burner with the dated inscription of 1346 from the late Koryŏ dynasty, now preserved in the private collection of Kwak Yŏngdae in Seoul (pl. 63). Another earlier example appears in a silver-inlaid bronze incense burner dating from the first half of the Koryŏ dynasty and preserved in T'ongdo monastery (pl. 64). However, a difference occurs in the shape of the anther on which a bunch of fairly long pistils and stamens extend upward over the flower itself in the form of a group of tiny circles. Accordingly, this extended drawing of the pistils and stamens interrupts the depiction of the petals located at the upper part of each individual flower. In addition, the petals situated at the upper left and right sides of the flower are foreshortened with the length of the tips distinctively reduced, suggesting that the flower is observed from a 45-degree angle. There are also other differences found in the details of execution. However, the basic structural pattern in which the flower scroll encircles a roundel, and all the flowers are depicted from the same perspective, appears in the decorations executed on the above-mentioned Koryŏ incense burners.

Decisive evidence that the earliest Korean underglaze blue wares exhibiting a *posanghwa* motif were influenced by similar Koryŏ decorations can be found in a ceiling decoration of Pongjŏngsa 鳳停寺 in Andong, a Buddhist monastery dating from a time frame between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (pl. 65).[670] In the centre, a pattern fairly similar to a *posanghwa* flower is drawn from a bird's-eye perspective, and around which four more such patterns are depicted at the four corners. Inside each flower, a Sanskrit character is written. Another medium which also demonstrates similar patterns is the Buddhist *sutra*. Covers of numerous *Lotus Sutra* of the late Koryŏ dynasty display *posanghwa* flower decorations. Representative examples are to be found in *Lotus Sutra* Chapter One entrusted to National Museum of Korea which dates from around the second half of the fourteenth century (pl. 66).[671] All the above examples show that floral scrolls executed in the earliest Korean underglaze blue wares were influenced by similar examples in the Koryŏ tradition.

On the twenty first day of the ninth month of the fifth year of his reign (1423), King Sejong ordered an official, Yu Kyemun to copy a *sutra* with gold powder at the Munsojŏn according to the wishes of Lady Sin, one of the concubines of the previous sovereign, King T'aejong, who wanted to pray on his behalf.[672] On examples of *sutra* dating from the late Koryŏ dynasty, the *posanghwa* flowers as well as the texts themselves were decorated with gold. The flowers are all depicted full-face view or at a 20-30 degree angle, as on the bronze incense burner made for Queen Sindŏk, and those on the earliest Chosŏn underglaze blue wares. Again, in the third month of the

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670 Heekyung Lee, 1998, p. 32.

671 Other examples of this type include the following: *Lotus Sutra* of *Kwang'doksasa* chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6 dated from late Koryŏ dynasty to the early Chosŏn, in Dongguk University Museum in Seoul; *Lotus Sutra* chapter 2 dated to 1415 now in Chŏnju Municipal Museum; *Lotus Sutra* chapters 3 and 4 of the late Koryŏ dynasty, in Kyŏngju National Museum. See Chŏn Hye-pong 1983, pls. 98, 100 and 102; Dr. Youngsook Pak wrote a 3-page article which introduced a manuascript of *The Amitabha Sugar Spoken by Buddha* in the collection of the British Museum in *Orientations*. In the course of analysing the paintings executed both *sutra* both the cover and the main body of the *sutra*, she states that the outer cover of the booklet is ornamented with three large blossoms, known in China as *baoxiang* are lavishly painted in silver and gold within a scrolling stem. See Youngsook Pak, *Orientations* (Dec 1982), p. 47.

672 *CWS*, vol. 2: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 21, p. 556, lower-a.

twenty-eighth year of the same reign (1446), after the death of Queen Sohŏn, King Sejong ordered the copying of a *sutra* with gold powder in Prince Sŏngnyŏng's house, and in the fifth month of the same year, the copied *sutras* were movied to T'aeja-am.[673] There appears a significant relationship between the decoration of the covers of *sutra*, and *posanghwa* scrolls executed as Buddhist devices on the pieces examined above. The strong Buddhist inclination of the earliest Korean underglaze blue wares is further shown by Buddhist emblems decorated on the exterior of the plate in the collection of Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka (pl. 31-c). Given all these factors, there is a probability that a large proportion of the earliest such Korean underglaze blue wares were designed for a specific use, either as Buddhist ceremonial wares inside the court, having been derived from a specific Buddhist doctrine, or for use in Naebuldang placed in Munsojŏn. Yet numerous *posanghwa* flowers depicted on many other ceramic wares of the Koryo and early Chosŏn periods are not depicted full-face. Neither are all of the flowers drawn from the same perspective, nor are they similar to those appearing in the early Chosŏn underglaze blue plate and jar previously analysed. Thus, it can be assumed that the particular design of *posanghwa* as executed on the earliest underglaze blue wares under study was devised exclusively for specific uses or for certain special Buddhist ceremonial occasions.

The Koryŏ dynasty had frequent cultural exchanges with the Chinese continent. The earliest influences of *posanghwa* decorations on Koryŏ arts must have been originally from the Korean Three Kingdoms period. Further influences from the continent continued through successive dynasties. The Chinese tradition might have been introduced to Koryŏ by way of various media of Buddhist arts such as sutras, paintings, textiles and others. During the Koryŏ dynasty, Buddhism was also transmitted from Liao and Jin as well as Song. In particular, during the late Koryŏ dynasty, Tibetan Buddhism imported from Yuan China significantly influenced Buddhist culture at the Koryŏ court. With this background, *posanghwa* decorations from the early Chosŏn dynasty share certain characteristics with those of the Ming. Yet, the early Korean decoration also acquired several differentiating elements during the process of evolving on its own after having accepted influences from the continent. Accordingly, it appears that the source of *posanghwa* decorations executed on Korean underglaze

673 *CWS*, vol. 4: *Sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 111, p. 662, upper-a; *sejong Sillok*, vol. 4: *sejong Sillok, kwŏn* 112, p. 676, lower-b.

blue wares cannot be solely confined to similar decorations found on Chinese Ming underglaze blue wares. The background source for the use of *posanghwa* scrolls on underglaze blue wares does not, therefore, necessarily lie in the simple imitation of similar Chinese wares. Indeed, it is also clear from this perspective, that *function* stimulated the manufacture of certain types of wares. Considering the similarities between Chosŏn decorations and Ming and Koryŏ decorations, we can see that the early Chosŏn royal court based its own specific decorations for certain uses upon those two traditions, i. e. that of Koryŏ and new influences from Ming China.

We have already observed a similar phenomenon in the construction of state rites. This phenomenon is partly due to the simple fact that the Chosŏn government, in its early period, could not import the Chinese imperial ritual text, *Da Ming Jili*. However, another reason why the ritual system and ritual instruments of the Chosŏn exhibit some significant differences with those of the Ming Imperial court, lies in the fact that the Chosŏn constructed a ritual system based on its own appreciation of Confucian literature and with reference to that of Koryŏ. We assume that the same principle may have been applied to Buddhist rituals, and icons, since the Koryŏ had a strong basis in Buddhism throughout its history.

Given that a number of plates decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll depicted in full-face, with similar motifs and decorative structures had been manufactured over a considerable period, it can be assumed that wares of this sort had long been employed ceremonially. As a result, their patterns could not simply be altered arbitrarily. In addition, there may have been two reasons why contemporary styles were imported. Firstly, the early Chosŏn sovereigns paid attention to keeping a balance in international etiquette. Secondly, blue pigments were imported from China. The types of pigment used in early Ming China were continuously altered. The treatment of pigments, when painted on porcelain wares, are very likely to have differed according to the natures of the pigments themselves. Chosŏn painters who took charge of the work of underglaze painting, must have felt safe to follow the execution of brush techniques when the types of pigment were altered. Accordingly, this would greatly have influenced the style and execution of decorations. The importation of blue pigments from

China probably resulted in the introduction of similar styles of execution on Korean underglaze blue wares.

15. 3 Driving forces that propelled the fashions of a period

It is now time to address the final issue raised at the beginning of this analysis and to clarify why motifs on early Korean underglaze blue wares tended to evolve from those of *posanghwa* to that of plum or pine tree and bamboos. What were the driving forces that propelled this change? Whilst during short time frame from King Sejong's period for a while, wares made of gold and silver were replaced by porcelain wares, from King Yŏnsan's period, this type of vessels were again actively employed. First of all, as analysed in Chapter 13.3, the most highly valued court vessels were those made of gold and silver during the later Chosŏn dynasty. Thus, a substantial proportion of Buddhist ceremonial vessels might have been made of gold and silver despite the general decline in the production of such materials. However, most importantly, from the reign of King Sŏngjong onwards, Confucianism began to be more strictly observed in the Choson royal court and any rituals containing Buddhist influences were gradually eliminated. From King Chungjong's reign onwards, this tendency strengthened. It can be argued, therefore, that the Buddhist inclination implicit in the *posanghwa* scroll serves to answer the question as to why, over time, plum tree and bamboo decorations, which more effectively symbolise Confucian virtues, gradually came to outnumber the *posanghwa* scroll.

Conclusion

At the outset of my inquiry, I posed a preliminary question: why was a pattern of ware-shape and decorative designs in Chinese vessels formed over an extended period and across a wide geographical area in East Asia, during the medieval and early modern periods?

In particular, in relation to the origin of Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue porcelain vessels, and their introduction into Korea, I asked the following questions: why the manufacture of vessels decorated with blue pigment flourished from the fourteenth century during the Yuan dynasty and reached its technical and aesthetic peak at the beginning of the Ming dynasty?; why, the production of this type of wares resembling Islamic metalwork, became particularly active in imperial kiln factories at the beginning of the Ming dynasty?; what are the origins of the blue decoration, and ware-shapes resembling Islamic metalwork?; what are the similarities and differences found in underglaze blue wares for use at the early Ming imperial court and the early Chosŏn court in Korea?; was the principal reason for sharing similar patterns with Chinese Ming imperial underglaze wares in other countries such as Korea and Southeast Asia during the medieval and early modern period, entirely due to their decorative beauty?;

Throughout this dissertation, I have explored the mechanism at work in the creation of designs for medieval and early modern vessels for use at the court, and how such a mechanism, incorporating environmental elements, related to the origins of underglaze blue wares for use at the Yuan and early Ming imperial court, and similar vessels in Korea.

In the course of the work, we have broadly analysed rites, and vessel systems specified in state rites; and Buddhist rites and religious, political, economic and intellectual climates of the court during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties in China, the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn dynasties in Korea.

It is hoped that my approach - a wide-ranging analysis covering several disciplines and long time spans and different areas - makes it possible to see vessels in a different perspective and in a wider context, and so to begin to answer the questions posed above.

The results show that certain regularities are due, to a large extent, to the common basis of rites, originating either in Chinese ancient institutions and later developed by Confucian scholars, or in religions such as Buddhism. On the other hand, it appears that conditions peculiar to specific areas and periods including cultural heritage and traditions, intellectual, socio-political and economic environments, also significantly contributed to the variation of style.

It emerges that vessel designs, for use at the court as well as in state ceremonies, were not arbitrarily chosen. *Wuli* or Five Rites controlled every aspect of events held in Confucian society. Ritual vessel systems originating in Five Rites governed the use of vessels in ceremonies held by the state and these systems themselves originated in the Classics.

This research uncovers that a major alteration in ritual vessels occurred during the Song dynasty. The alteration was caused by the obsession to know about ancient societies, even including rites and ritual instruments, and to reconstruct their own society and rites with reference to such. This obsession was so strong that it even brought a major alteration in rites and ritual vessels. The direct cause of this alteration was due to different interpretations of the Classics in each period. The origins of rites can be found in the ancient 'Three-Dynastic Period', particularly the Zhou dynasty. Zhou rites were regarded as the archetype of state rites by later dynasties. It should be noted that around the Qingli period (1041-48) of the Song dynasty, Neo-Confucianism advocated an empirical approach to understanding the Classic period, which brought with it a major ritual modification.

The framework of state rites incorporated the ritual practices of customs and religions of the later period, in particular, of Daoism and Buddhism. These are not specified in the Classics but were established in later periods, from the Han dynasty onwards. They

include many ceremonies, such as sacrificial ceremonies and banquets following the ceremonies on religious festive days, celebrated in the Chinese calendar. Such ceremonies were widely conducted in *yuanmiao*, built inside the court, and in other places, including tombs and monasteries.

These religious style ceremonies were either sponsored or suppressed by the court, depending on the political-religious atmosphere of the period. During the early period of the Southern Song dynasty, when the Neo-Confucian movement reached its peak, ceremonies not originating in Classics were abolished and religious style ceremonies were relocated and limited to *yuanmiao*. The impetus for establishing imperial shrines of this type inside the court originated in the performance of sacrificial ceremonies of a contemporary style with more frequency. The food dedicated, and the manner of presenting it, followed procedures for serving a living person. It was also specified that the official robes and instruments used in this type of shrine should be those for ordinary use. Furthermore, it appears that ceremonies organised according to the imperial family's beliefs on religious festive days were openly conducted there.

While undergoing a number of modification, this type of practice continued during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties. It is significant to note that these types of ceremonies were more frequently held than those at *zongmiao*, and accordingly, demanded a great number of vessels for the services, and the subsequent banquets.

Ceremonies for sacrifices or banquets were not the sole source of demand for religious-style vessels. In a society run in the framework of *li*, only behaviour or ways of thinking understood within this framework could have universal moral value. Much developed by Confucian scholars, *li* emphasised morals as the ideal. Morals were derived either from ancient philosophy and further developed by Confucian scholars, or from contemporary religions. The authority of imperial courts based on the mandate of Heaven, could be consolidated only if they were seen to be morally correct.

Furthermore, contemporary religions played a significant role in empowering the imperial court in political realm. For example, the

magical powers predicated of amulets, their ability to defend rulers and imperial courts against calamities and political usurption, are assumed to have been accepted by onlookers, the commoners, as well as those practising the religion in the imperial court itself.

This ritual effects must have been significant especially for vulnerable past societies with underdeveloped technological and scientific capacities. Such religious protection might have been an important source of empowerment for those elites who had to maintain political power. Thus, it is also possible to assume that not a few number of vessels adorned with religious style designs, were used in everyday life.

How, then, in this framework of rites, can we explain the emergence and popularity of vessel designs in West Asian elements and decorated with underglaze blue showing highly refined qualities for use at the early Ming imperial court?

I locate the emergence of West Asian elements and blue colour decoration, in the specific religious, political and economic context of the Yuan and early Ming periods. First of all, in religious aspects, this type of vessels appear to have related to Buddhist elements not only from Chinese tradition but also those from Central Asia. The early Ming Emperors practised Tibetan Buddhism, as was the case with their Yuan predecessors. It appears that in ceremonies held in Fengxiandian, an ancestral shrine for deceased Emperors and Empresses at the early Mng imperial court, and other equivalent ancestral ceremonies, vessels of a contemporary style were used. Furthermore, it appears that many of these ceremonies were organised according to the imperial family's religious beliefs. Given this, one of the most important ritual elements related to the demand of vessels from the imperial court must have been such Buddhist practices.

I traced the origin of the colour element in early Ming imperial monochrome, polychrome and underglaze blue wares, to Buddhist ritual practices. It is observed that monochrome and polychrome coloured cloths were tied around the necks or shoulders of many vessels in Tantric Buddhist practices in Tibet. I contend that this practice is closely related to the surface decorations of early Ming

imperial porcelain wares. This interpretation opens up a new approach to understanding early Ming underglaze blue, monochrome, and polychrome porcelain wares.

Ritual vessels used in such Tibetan practices include those made of metal, glass and other materials, around whose necks, textiles with or without decorations tied. In the case of underglaze blue porcelain vessels, however, blue coloured decorations were partly painted on the surface of the vessel under the glaze. Given this, it appears evident that underglaze blue painting was an alternative to the use of blue cloths as a means of decoration. Up to the present time, although there are a number of cases of such a practice of tying textiles on vessels, the decoration on vessels such as underglaze blue, monochorome or polychrome wares has never been considered in relation to such practices. This can only be possible if one recognises the existence of vessel systems for use in state ceremonies, royal courts and high societies in use during the early and medieval China and Korea.

At the Yuan imperial court, the particular specification for tying cloths around Buddhist ceremonial items was probably expressed literally using coloured cloths tied around instruments which were made of gold or other materials. In the case of vessels made of porcelain, instead of actually tying cloth around the vessels, decoration and colour were represented through underglaze painting.

This research shows that West Asian ware-shapes in Ming imperial porcelain are actually also rooted in Tantric Buddhist ceremonial vessels. Importantly, although the materials do not appear to have been ceramic, similar shapes can be found in Tibetan Buddhist ritual procedures. Those compiled in the Tibetan text cannot be passed off as indicating daily use. It appears that hardly any vessels were used, if they were not from Confucian tradition, or other religious rites practised in the court. Furthermore, given the case with Confucian ritual vessel systems, it is my premise that every religion has its own ceremonial vessel system, not in relation to a few representative ceremonial vessels as has been thought but across almost the entire range of vessels for use in their rituals. It also appears that stylistic differences arose because, while these vessels were made in accordance

with certain ceremonial specifications, styles evolved over time and across geographical areas.

Thus, this research indicates that a large number of Yuan and early Ming imperial underglaze blue wares were made in accordance with rites specified in Tantric Buddhism. They must have been used in Buddhist rituals, including imperial ancestral ceremonies and in specific Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies, at the banquets which followed such ceremonies, devoted to Buddhism, and as vessels decorated with auspicious emblems. It appears possible that despite these Buddhist derivations, vessels adorned with underglaze blue decoration were also produced for use in other ceremonial contexts, such as a limited number of occasions in Confucian-style ceremonies and banquets, and, more substantially, in similar occasions in a Daoist context. However, in this case, the content of decorations must have been modified to meet with the criteria of those religions.

A substantial number of those underglaze blue wares originated in Tantric Buddhist specification, must have served, not only as containers of sacrificial food but also as objects of worship or possessors of magical powers. Furthermore, for amulet or protection purposes in everyday life, the vessel designs specified in religions practised inside the court, were probably used in producing those for daily life.

Then, why ritual vessels for use in Tantric Buddhism and vessels for use by people who practised this religion should have been made using porcelain wares than any other materials? It can be explained in the politics, financial situations and economic policies of the early Ming dynasty.

This research shows that certain types of vessel for use in certain ceremonies, for example, vessels for use in *zongmiao* and *jiaosi* were specified in Classics. Yet, those vessels for use in rites incorporated into the ritual framework during the later periods still had much flexibility.

During the early Ming period, the economic reality was that China took the policy of restraining the use of metalwork. The suffering continued from the Yuan dynasty and was initially related to the

abolishment of mines in somewhere in Eurasia. The early Ming government issued paper money, yet not successful. Metal vessels would have been used as means of economic exchange, which would further interrupt the use of paper money. Along these reasons, as a former farmer himself, and as a founder of a new state without authentic royal lineage, the Emperor was apparently concerned about damaging his image as a benevolent monarch by the exploitation of labour in mining metal ores, which required tremendous efforts. Thus he only permitted limited official mining during his thirty-year reigns. In addition, another reason may be found in Neo-Confucian inclination of early Ming Emperors who respected virture of frugality.

The imperial edict of 1369 which ordered to make sacrificial vessels using porcelain appears to have applied more to vessels used in Buddhist and Buddhist-style, and other religious ceremonies which did not originate in the Classics. Particularly during the reigns of Yongle and Xuande, Buddhist religious fervour grew, leading to the manufacture of a large number of vessels which were used uniquely in certain practices of Tibetan Buddhism.

The origins of various decorative elements adorned on underglaze blue wares from the Yuan period and some from early Ming dynasty can be found in various types of Tantric Buddhist art from the Tang, Song, Liao, Jin and Xixia dynasties, and Tibet.

It emerges that the most representative Islamic elements pointed out by many scholars, the geometrical scheme of decorative design, consecutive circles and a number of horizontal bands which set spaces for decoration in both large dishes, jars, ewers and bottles originated in the depiction of *mandala*. The compact lay out of decorative design over the surface of wares are also tracked in textiles as well as numerous types of Buddhist art from Tang, Song, Liao, Jin, Xixia and Yuan dynasties. It also emerges that large size of vessels were widely used inside the China and Mongolia as the recent excavations over China show.

In particular, during the Yuan dynasty, it is very likely that most important vessels were made using gold, silver or other type of precious materials. When vessels were required either in religious ceremonies or banquets for religious festive days derived in Buddhist

context held at or sponsored by the imperial court, more precious materials were likely to be used upon which blue colour textiles were tied or other types of blue decorations were adorned, in the place of utmost importance. Given that even the Yuan dynasty suffered from a lack of metal, when large size of vessel was necessary as reservoir of food or ceremonial instruments, not as vessels actually used at the tables in a religious context, it is likely that underglaze blue porcelain vessels were used. The use of this type of porcelain wares, however, was altered to more important uses when the early Ming Emperors took the policy of refraining the use of such metalwork even inside the court.

Given such situations during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties, as claimed by many scholars, it appears natural that vessels presented as official gifts were made using ceramics rather than gold and silver. It is, thus, very likely that many such underglaze blue vessels were ordered by imperial house for the purpose of gifts to sovereigns of Islamic countries and else where as well as use for certain functions during the Yuan and early Ming dynasties. Such official imperial trade with Islams, Southeast Asian countries and Korea during the time frame between the beginning of the dynasty to early fifteenth century contributed to the early Ming Emperors' efforts to locate Ming at the top in international hierarchy, as well as the import of precious foreign products for Ming imperial court. It is, thus, most likely that such trade relationships became a very important cause to expand the production underglaze blue wares into much larger number. In this view, the trade relationships appear to have significantly influenced the expansion of the scale of the production during the early fifteenth century. However, the origins of those vessels appear to have been in Tantric Buddhist rites.

Why did the manufacture of Chinese underglaze blue wares influence similar practice in neighbouring countries, during the medieval and early modern periods, in particular, in Korea? To answer this, one must pay attention to the fact that these countries shared state ideologies or religions or both.

The similarities between Chosŏn and Ming vessels for use in state ceremonies turns out to have been due to the fact that both countries generally based the ancient Chinese model and Confucian-style ritual

systems.

Similar interpretation can be applied to underglaze blue porcelain wares from the Chosŏn royal court of the fifteenth century. As far as this type of wares are concerned, the only wares for which uses are known include a underglaze blue jar used as a wine container in state banquets and a *sanroi* vessel decorated with underglaze blue employed as a container for liquids in state sacrificial ceremonies. However, those motifs represent only a small percentage of the wide variety of decorations found on extant examples of the earliest stage, most of which are decorated with a *posanghwa* scroll.

The stylistic analysis of Korean underglaze blue wares decorated with *posanghwa* shows that the manufacture of this type of vessels began no later than 1440s. This period corresponds to the peak of Buddhist ritual practice at the Chosŏn court during the reign of King Sejong. Therefore, as the similar case with China, it is evident that this type of wares were also made in accordance with Buddhist ritual specifications. Therefore, the similarities are based on the common religion, Buddhism.

However, certain differences between ritual vessels from Ming and Chosŏn occurred under different customs and tradition, Confucian and Buddhist development, international and internal politics and economic situation of Korea. If we look at state ceremonial vessels originated in Classics, whilst those of Ming and Choson share certain ware-shapes, decorative designs and materials, there are also many differences. Differences between Chosŏn and Ming vesssels are due to the fact that, unlike Ming ritual vessels, in many cases, the early Chosŏn vessels were modelled on ritual vessel systems based upon a philological approach from both the Tang and the Song periods, especially prior to the new ritual system which involved Neo-Confucian empiricism set up during the Song dynasty. Whilst the Chosŏn government could not easily obtain the ritual text of the Ming imperial court might have contributed to this phenomenon, the other, and important reason can be found in the fact that Chosŏn did not indiscriminately modelled upon Ming rites for two reasons. One reason is that Chosŏn monarchs and ritual specialists felt uneasy to

emulate the rites of Emperor's state due to the hierarchies strictly practised in the Chinese institutions. Another important reason is that, Chosŏn also respected their own tradition and customs peculiar to the nation; and continued much of its tradition. Koryŏ customs and rituals which received influences from both ancient Chinese model and Confucian-style rites, and customs of Korea, thus were considerably continued in the early Chosŏn rituals.

Concerning underglaze blue wares, it appears that Koryŏ Buddhist art largely succeeded to early Chosŏn. *Posanghwa* decorations on Koryŏ arts were imported from the continent by way of various art forms ardorned with decorations specified in Buddhism for example, Buddhist sutra, Buddhist paintings, textiles, and other Buddhist ritual instruments through numerous routes, most representatively, Southern Song, Liao and Jin China and must again have been influenced by Tibetan Buddhism introduced from Yuan China. In this long process of amalgamation of a variety sources of influences, it is also very likely that different ways of visual expressions unique to Korea were involved.

Why the popular motifs of underglaze blue evolved from *posanghwa* to plum tree and bamboo during the early Chosŏn dynasty?

It is directly related to the position of Neo-Confucianism as a state ideology.

The Buddhist influences implicit in the *posanghwa* scroll gradually gave way to the plum and bamboo decorations which more effectively symbolised Confucian virtues. This is because Neo-Confucian philosophy came to be greatly strengthened as a state ideology and to be faithfully reflected in government administration from the second half of the fifteenth century, and more strictly from the sixteenth century onwards.

The other important question is the reason why Koreans did not manufacture underglaze blue wares during the Koryŏ dynasty but only from the early Chosŏn dynasty. This appears quite contrastive to the case with Yuan dynasty which produced a great number of this type of wares. First of all, it is very likely that the use of blue colour

decoration derived from the practice of tying cloths of various colours onto the shoulders of ritual instruments during Buddhist ceremonies, was inherited from the Koryŏ tradition. The Koryŏ dynasty might have imported this type of practice from Buddhism via China from the earlier period, and via Yuan Buddhist elements late in the dynasty.

The reason for that porcelain vessels in representing this type of Buddhist specification came to be used can also be found in terms of socio-cultural and economic conditions of Korea during the early Chosŏn dynasty. In rites based on the ancient Chinese model, not only most of the internal court and state activities but also those concerning international relations were defined in the framework of rites. Furthermore, much motivated by his own complex from former farmer and rebellion, and ambition to construct a administrative framework in which his successors could eventually maintain the regime and to enhance the position of the Ming dynasty in international relations, the Hongwu Emperor constructed an international order utilising Confucian etiquette based on the ancient model, much emphasising hierarchy. In this ritual system, neighbouring countries were evaluated on the basis of a hierarchy in which Ming was placed at the top. At the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, as a newly-born state which overthrew the Koryŏ dynasty politically controlled by Yuan and chose to support Ming, the new regime, the royal court was very dependent on the legitimacy of the Ming dynasty for the political needs of the earliest sovereigns. Since Chosŏn and Ming dynasties both based their diplomatic relations on state rites, they made much of the balance of etiquette between them. This research, therefore, shows that such systems of rites were the reason why the particular types of wares adopted for certain uses in the Ming imperial court greatly influenced the selection of wares intended for similar uses in the Korean court at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty.

At the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, the relationship between the sovereigns of Ming and Chosŏn was strained. The annual tribute of gold and silver to China was extremely burdensome, and eventually at the end of continuous appeal to the Ming Emperor for the exemption of the tribute, the imposement of gold and silver as tribute items was finally lifted. The early Chosŏn sovereign particularly minded to

maintain delicate balance of etiquettes and rites with Ming. Many types of sacrificial ceremonies and banquets were held with attendance of Ming envoys. These conditions appear to be the most important reasons why Chosŏn produced vessels decorated with underglaze blue.

As a preliminary inquiry this dissertation focused on the existence of specifications of vessels for use at the courts and high societies of China and Korea during the medieval and early modern period in terms of rites.

Up to the present time, few relevant information has been available on the origin and evolution of many types of East Asian vessels, in particular, those from China and Korea for use at imperial court and high societies from the medieval and early modern period. They have consequently tended inevitably to have been based primarily on stylistic comparisons between extant art objects or archaeological materials. By doing this, the tastes of users or sources of demand have been traced. In this dissertation, I intended to resolve such questions not in terms of art's immediate and individual producers or consumers, such as potters, officials in charge of vessel deisgn, or the imperial family, but in terms of *institutions* originated in ideology, religious thought, and in the political, intellectual and economic aspects of the society. Based upon empirical foundation work conducted prior to the commencement of this dissertation, in the present study I start from the hypothesis that rites were the primary determining element. The foundation research as well as this study, nonetheless, has not been conducted using purely stylistic comparisons of extant wares to vessels documented for the procedure of certain ritual ceremonies. The present work was made through the systematic exploration, of the existence of vessel systems specified in rites governing the norms of medieval and early modern societies in East Asia, for example, China and Korea, where Chinese ancient institutions and Confucianism exercised a great deal of influence; this work eventually brought further recognition on the vessel specification in Buddhist rites.

The specification of design in rites cannot only be applied to imperial vessels but also a wide range of decorative arts. This is due to the fact that in a Confucian society, decorative designs were determined in

the context of rites. This also appears to be the case for Buddhist society and its decorative art.

This study therefore develops methods for identifying certain types of *decorative arts* not only as subsidiary elements used for decorative purposes, but also important in their own right, such as ceremonial vessels or objects of worship. That is, decorations themselves had meaning and functioned as icons and decorations were designed in accordance with use and not merely aesthetic value.

Based on this extensive empirical study, we can also draw a number of important points in a wider context. In the broader perspective of cultural studies, this study highlights a significant aspect of Chinese and East Asian cultural systems, in which people shared beliefs, moral values and attitudes to behaviours, and thereby identified themselves as a member of the society. I claim that the *Anthropological* concept of religious practices and ritual phenomena can and should be applied to the design of vessels for use at royal courts and in high societies during the medieval and early modern period. What should also be noted, however, is that the unique concept of rites found in Confucianism, *li*, evolved from ancient rites and rituals universal to every primitive society, and developed as a means of externalising morality, the highest human achievement, in a specific social context. Thus, the practice of vessel rites appears to have been made voluntarily and was also universally applied to every aspects of events in high society.

In the context of medieval and early modern economy history, this research shows how the world economy, in particular, metal mines, and the flourishing of the production of underglaze blue wares from this area were inextricably linked. Restrictions in the use of metal imposed during the early Ming dynasty continued from the Yuan dynasty. The closure of mines in Eurasia influenced economy life across a wide range of areas including China. This situation appears to have been directly related to the promotion of the use of porcelain vessels, as well as the financial policies pursued by the Yuan and early Ming governments.

By thoroughly exploring the case of a specific type of vessel, underglaze blue wares of the Yuan, early Ming and early Choson dynasties, this study also highlights a number of significant theoretical issues in the study of Cultural History.

Firstly, it exhibits semiotic functions played by underglaze blue wares in various contexts. In macro perspective, it shows how their iconography and functions were perceived in different cultural contexts. Important features of Yuan and early Ming underglaze blue ware-the blue-colour element, West Asian vessel-shapes and decorative designs-appear to have been derived from Tantric Buddhism. Yet, during the Yuan, early Ming and early Choson dynasties, the types of their designs and uses expanded whilst the major proportion of vessels maintained their original designs and function. A vast number of this type of wares were, however, later systematically exported to West Asia, East Africa, Europe, and North America where they were used in daily, at banquet tables and for purely decorative purpose in their own cultural context. In micro perspective, this study shows that the meaning and use of vessels themselves also changed in accordance with the precise context in which these vessels functioned, in terms of types of event, place, time as well as their combination with other art objects. For example, when vessel type A was used in combination with types B and C in ritual type I on the death anniversary of X at a particular monastery, the meaning and function of vessel type A appears to have been different from when used together with C and D in the same ritual held at the same place, or of course, in different types of ritual on different occasions at different places.[675]

The second point is about the transformation between different materials. In ceramic studies, up to the present time, attention has mostly been paid to the move from silver to ceramics. Nevertheless of our knowledge on the resemblance between certain decorations on ceramic wares and textiles, the reason why they were developed has

675) The discussion on these points based upon this long-term empirical study, is included in my papers submitted to the University of California, Berkeley and the Columbia University in January 2002, and the University of Southern California in March 2002. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. David King, a keen connoisseur and collector of Japanese ceramics who read through these papers.

never been addressed. I claim that resemblances across and between those two media, in many cases up to early modern period, need to be addressed in the contexts of systems of rites in which certain rules for the production and consumption of decorative arts became institutionalised and eventually accepted as customs. In addition, by showing that the material supporting the decoration of vessels itself changed from textiles to ceramics, this study also claims that it was not only simply a matter of imitating and transposing decorative styles from one type of material to another, but also a transformation of the type of material used.

Finally, a word is necessary with regard to the further theoretical underpining's of the study. In the sense that we emphasise the role of ideological and religious institutions as well as political and economic elements in the general procedures of the society, including even vessels, it show that structuralist views can be fruitfully applied in understanding medieval and early modern vessels from China and neighbouring countries where similar ideological and religious institutions were existed.

It is too early, however, to categorise our results in the context of cultural-historical theory. Although this research inclines to more an analysis of the structure in which certain visual vessel systems were constructed in terms of institutions of ideology, philosophy and religion, which are all obviously social aspects, I do not intend to claim that the art history of medieval and early modern vessels is all about social structure. Since previous research has been keen to analyse stylistic details and the technical elements of vessels and thus have already accumulated a remarkable amount of knowledge in these areas, in this study I concentrate more on institutional elements which I believe to have been larger scale driving forces behind the development of major vessels. Further theoretical interpretations about this issue along with other points discussed above, will be vital to the success of the next stage of this ongoing research project.

Epilogue

Like trying to solve a complicated and obscure puzzle, it was very difficult even trying to find the right clues at the beginning of this research. Yet, once it is realised how the mechanism through which the manufacture of vessels was influenced, like the principles governing the seeming complexity of the universe, the problems appear ultimately simple. The approach used in this research has not, however, been developed over a short period of time but through a long journey which was initially stimulated during the several years of painstaking sherd analyses in early 1990s. During this time, I developed a type of Chan (Son) 禪 question in the deepest part of my heart as to why Chinese vessels were so much alike from one period after another, and also why Chinese vessels and those from neighbouring countries, including those of Korea, so resembled each other. The work on institutions, including rites, laws and rituals in my dissertation is directly based upon foundational research drawn from another four years of analysing textual sources in major libraries in several countries. I only hope that this approach can be helpful in resolving other questions in vessels and decorative arts in medieval and early modern East Asia in the future.

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1. Abbreviations

AAA	*Archives of Asian Art*
ACA	*Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*
AO	*Ars Orientalis*
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*
CAAA	*Colloquies of Art and Archaeology in Asia, London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art*
MCh	*Misul Charyo* 美術資料
OA	*Oriental Art*
OANS	*Oriental Art* (New Series)
TOCS	*Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*
WW	*Wenwu* 文物
ZGW	*Zhongguo Wenwu* 中國文物

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INSTITUTIONS AND VESSELS IN EAST ASIA:

EXPLORING A NEW APPROACH FOR THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN WARES, APPLIED TO THE ORIGIN OF EARLY MING IMPERIAL UNDERGLAZE BLUE CERAMICS, AND THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO KOREA

HEEKYUNG LEE

VOLUME II

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUESTMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
APRIL 2002

ILLUSTRATIONS

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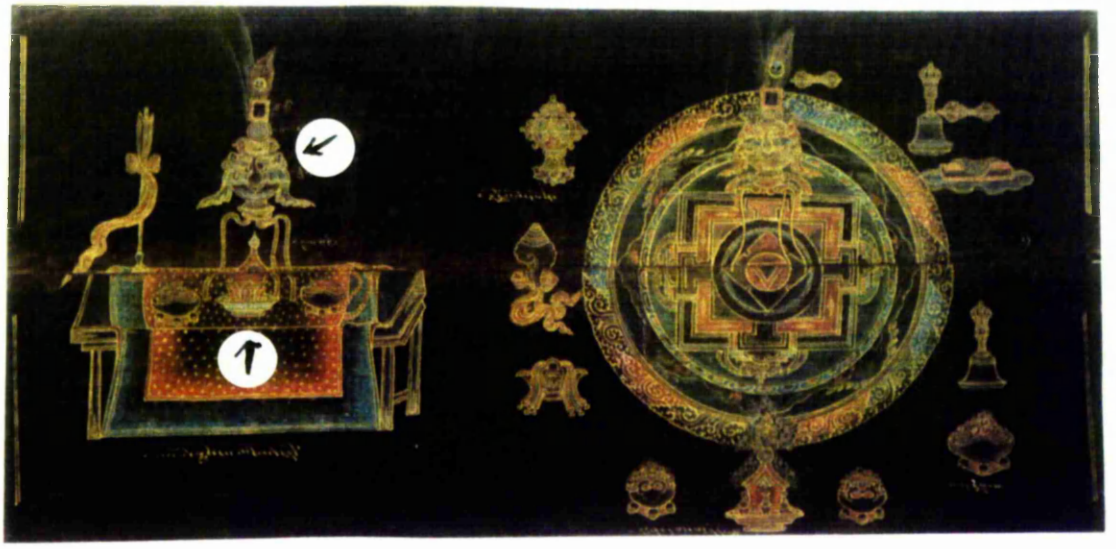

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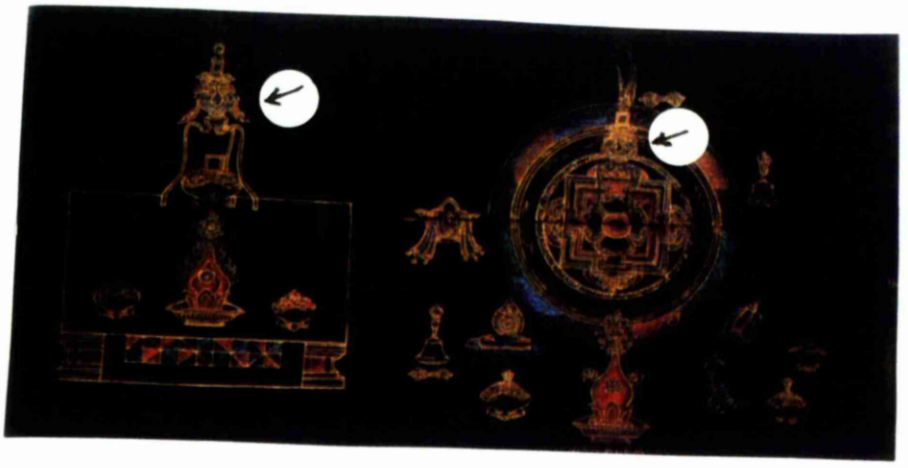

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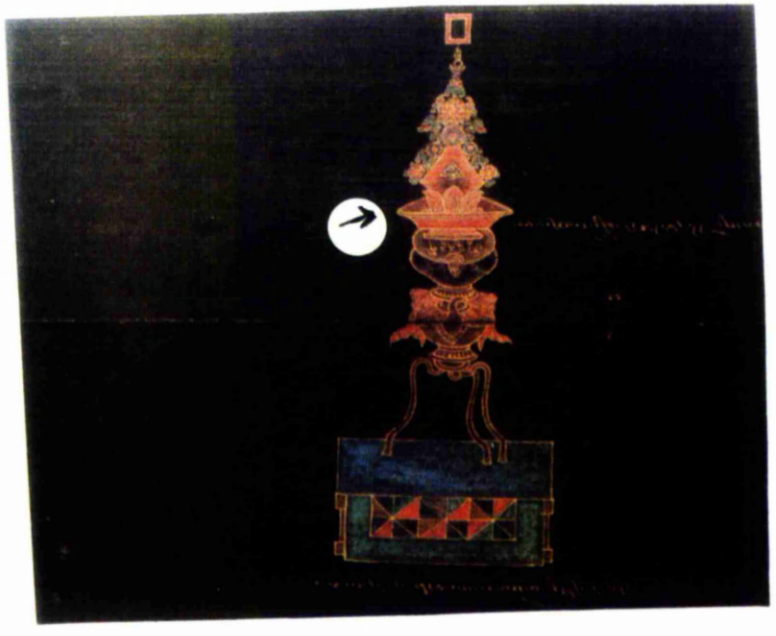

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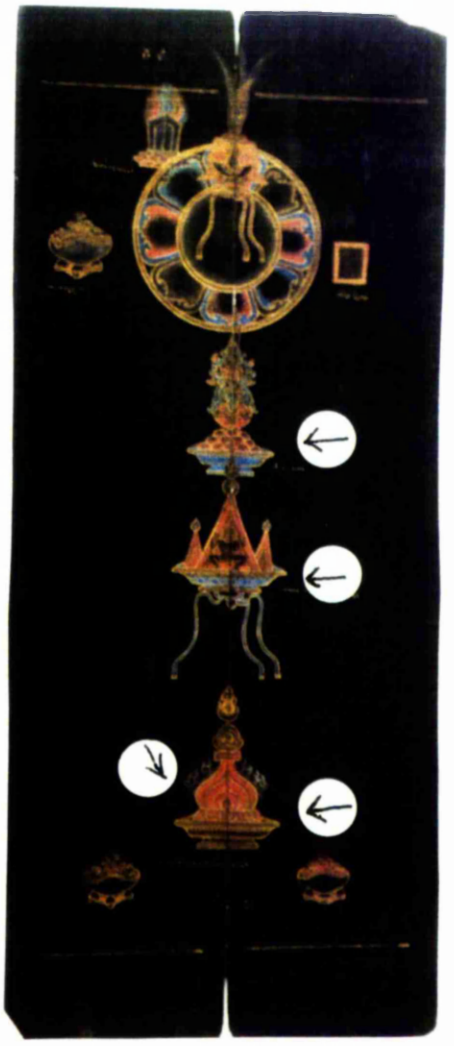

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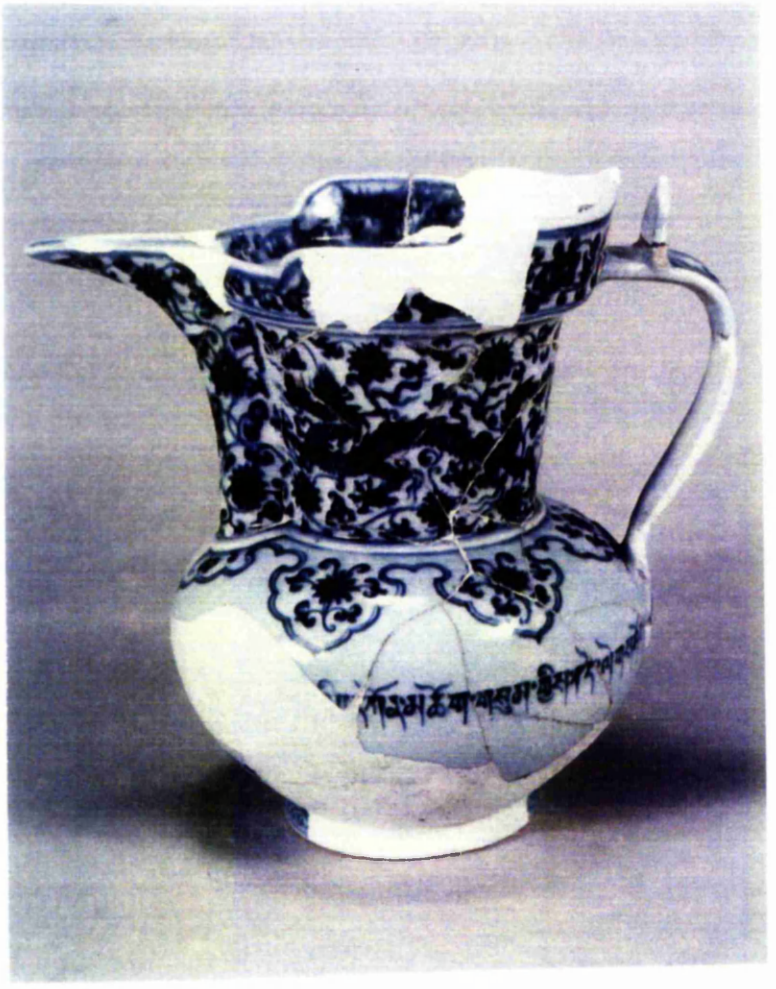

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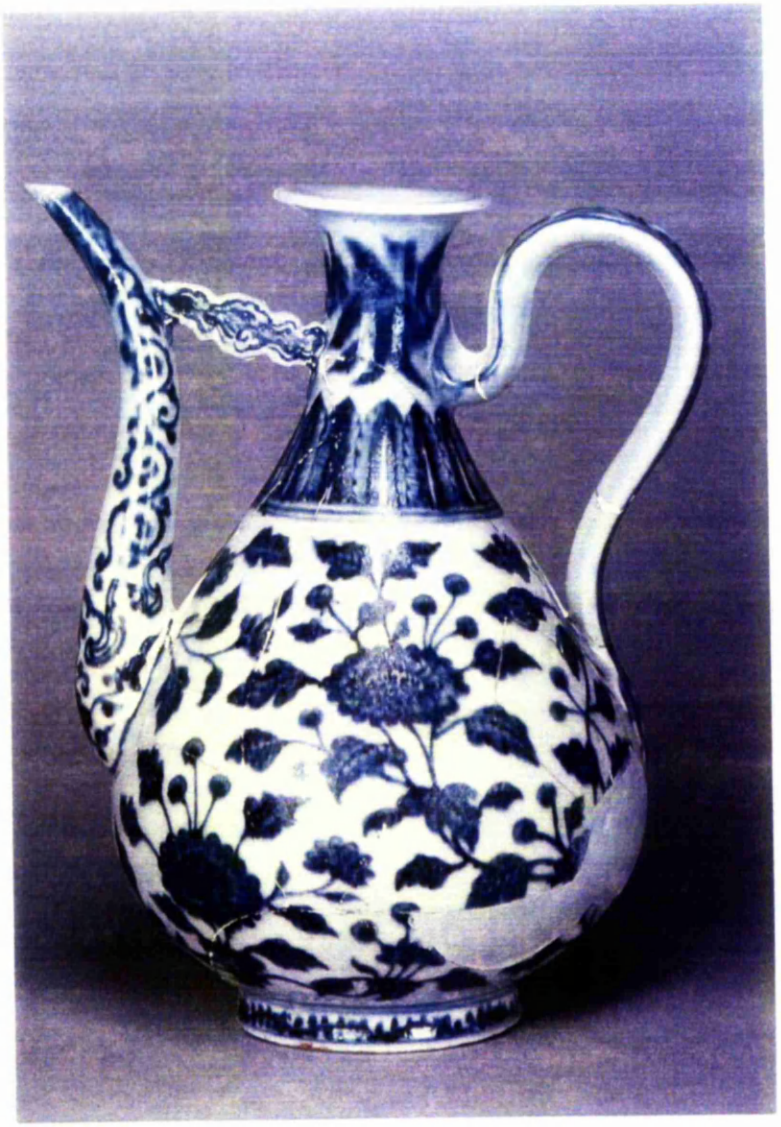

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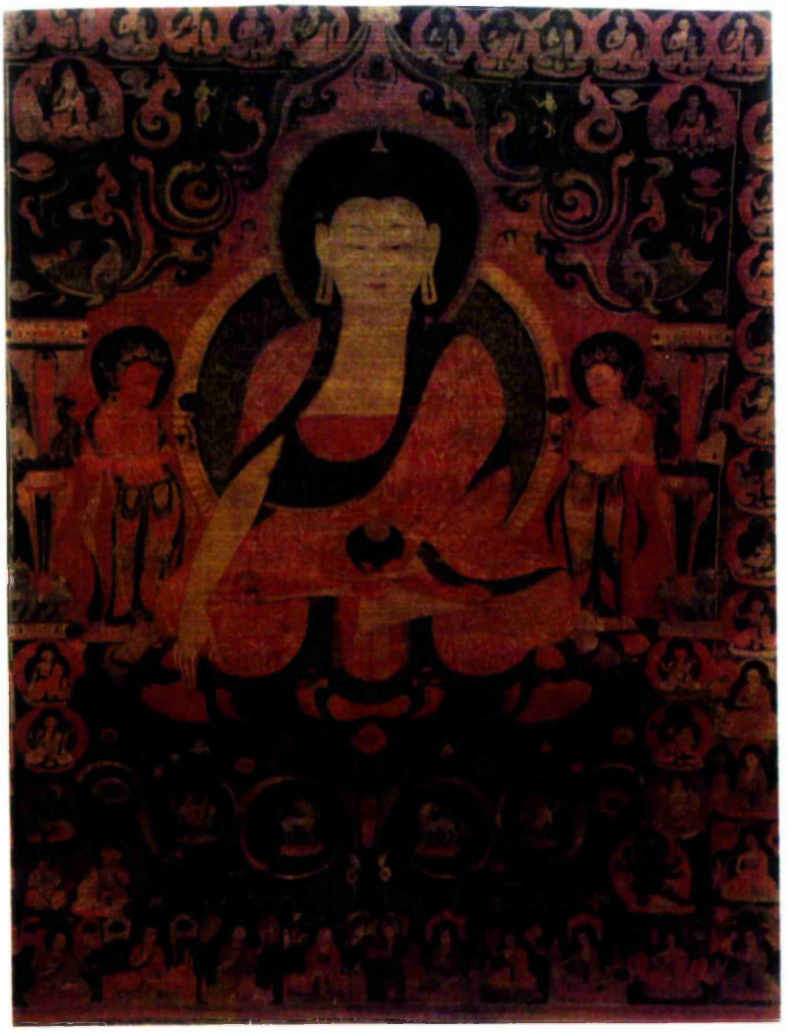

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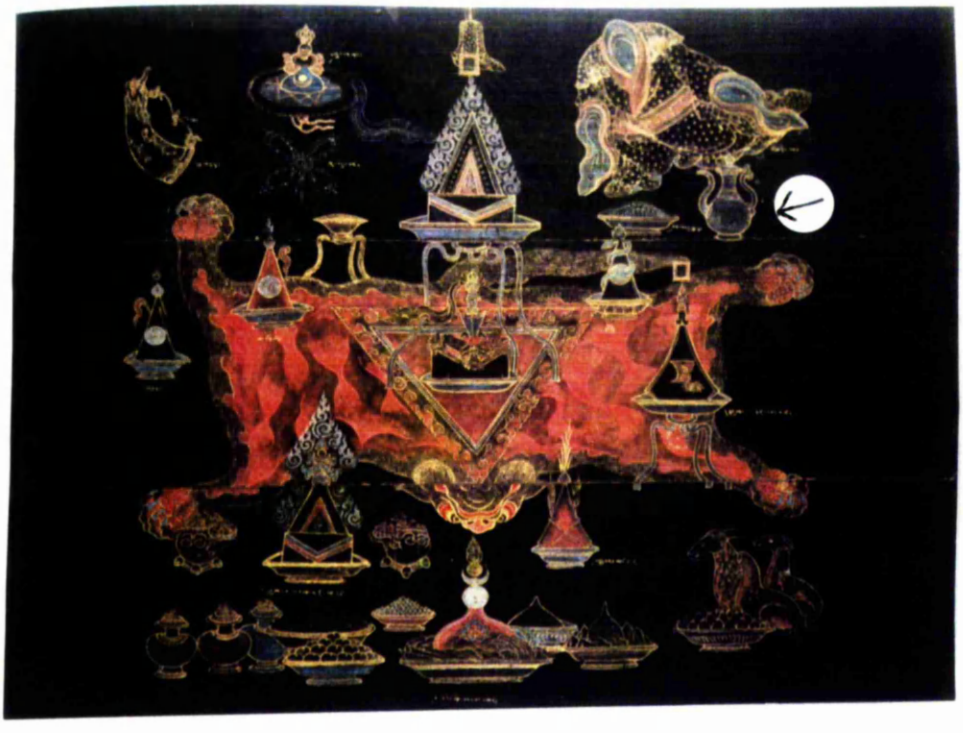
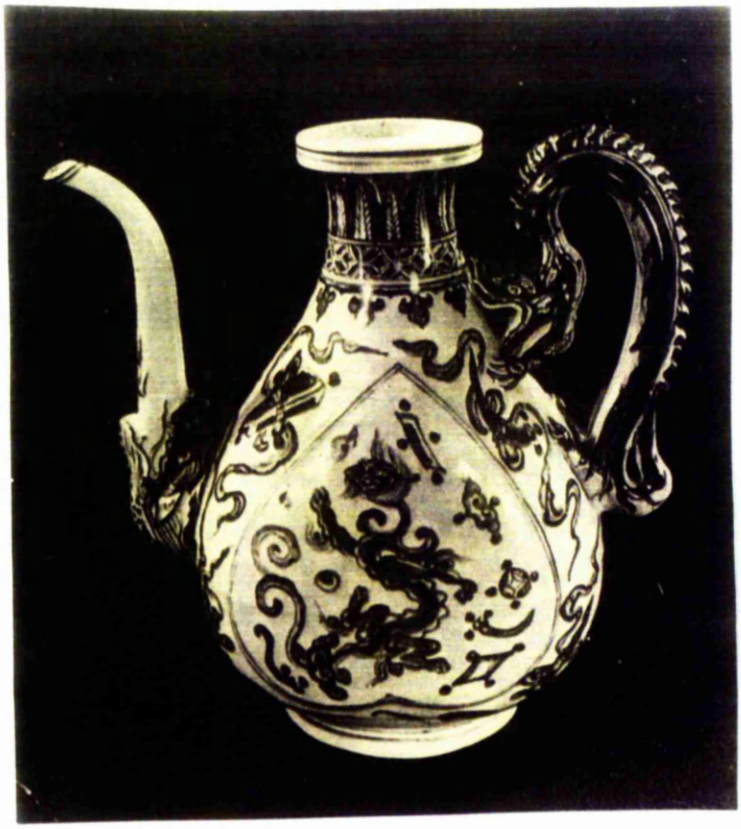
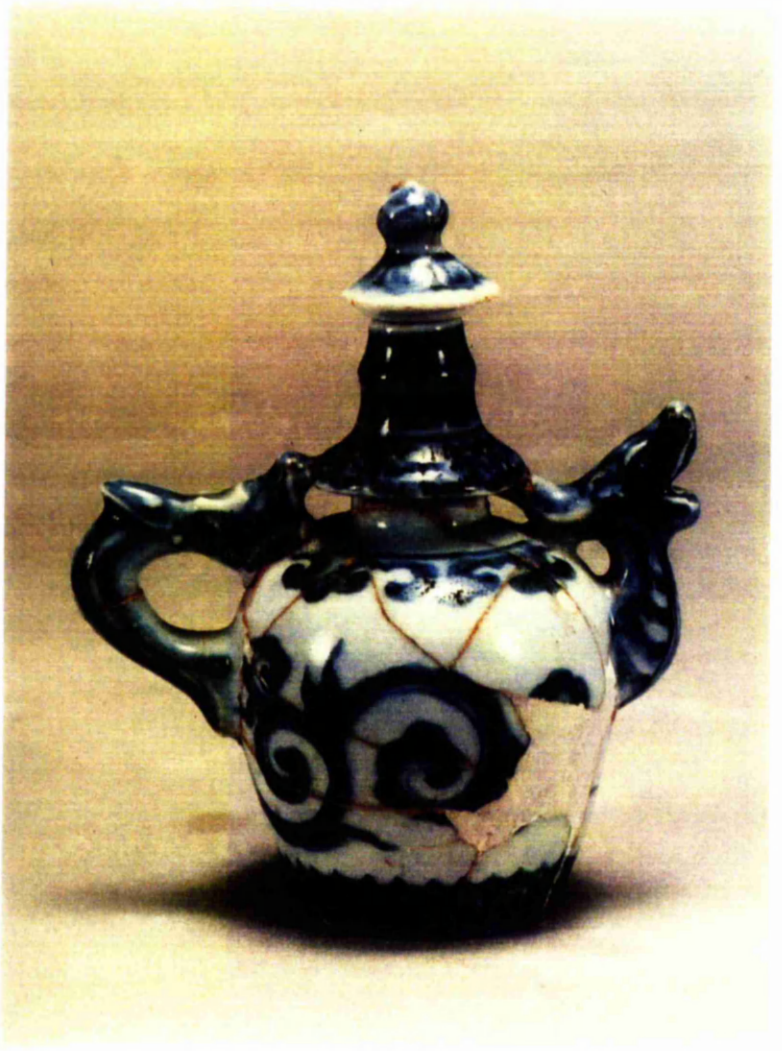


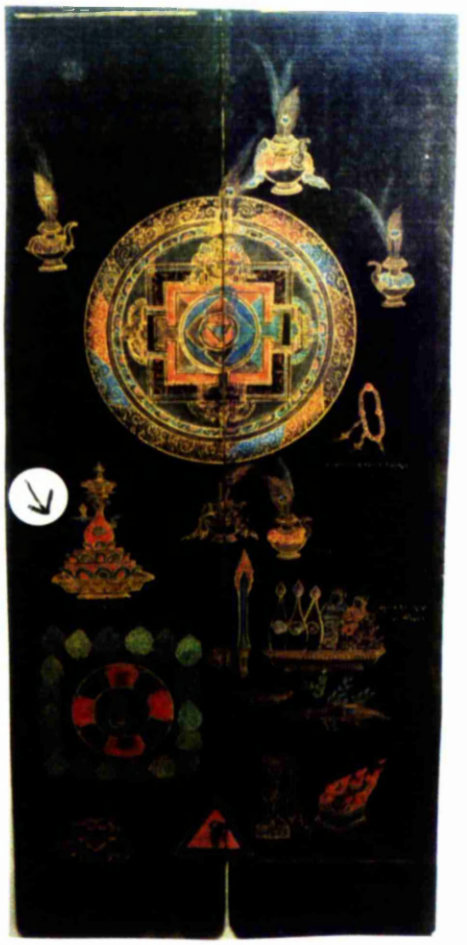
Pl. 23. **Ritual objects required in the rites for turning back the malefic spirits (*gtor-zlog*) and the ritual act of hurling (*zor-los*) in the *Karmaguru cycle*** (After *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection*, pl. 43)



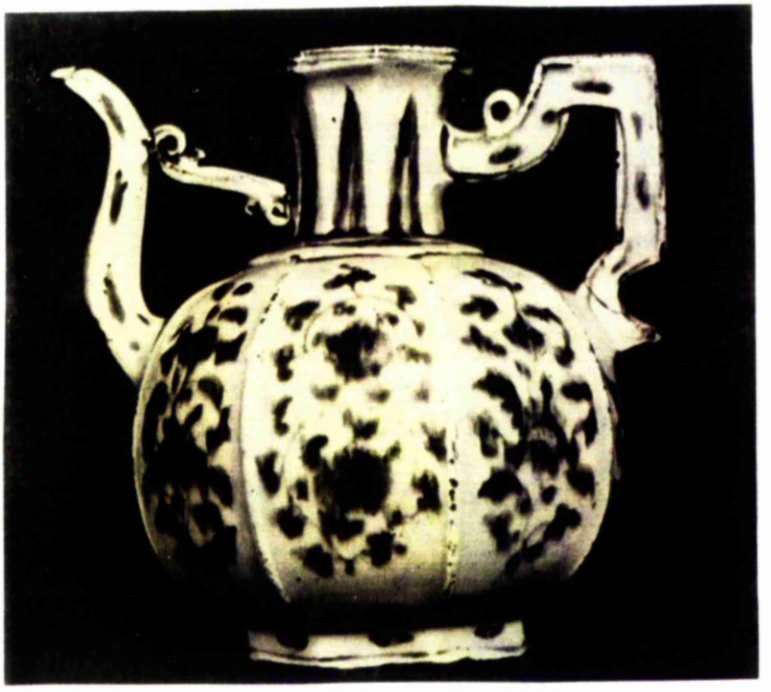
Pl. 24. **Ewer, with heart-shaped panels.**
(After *Ming Qing ciqi jianding*, 1993, pl. 72)



Pl. 25. **Water dropper,** Xuande period. Overall Height: 10. 9 cm. (After *Jingdezhen Zhushan Chutu Yongle Xuande Guanyao Ciqi Zhanlan,* pl. 45)



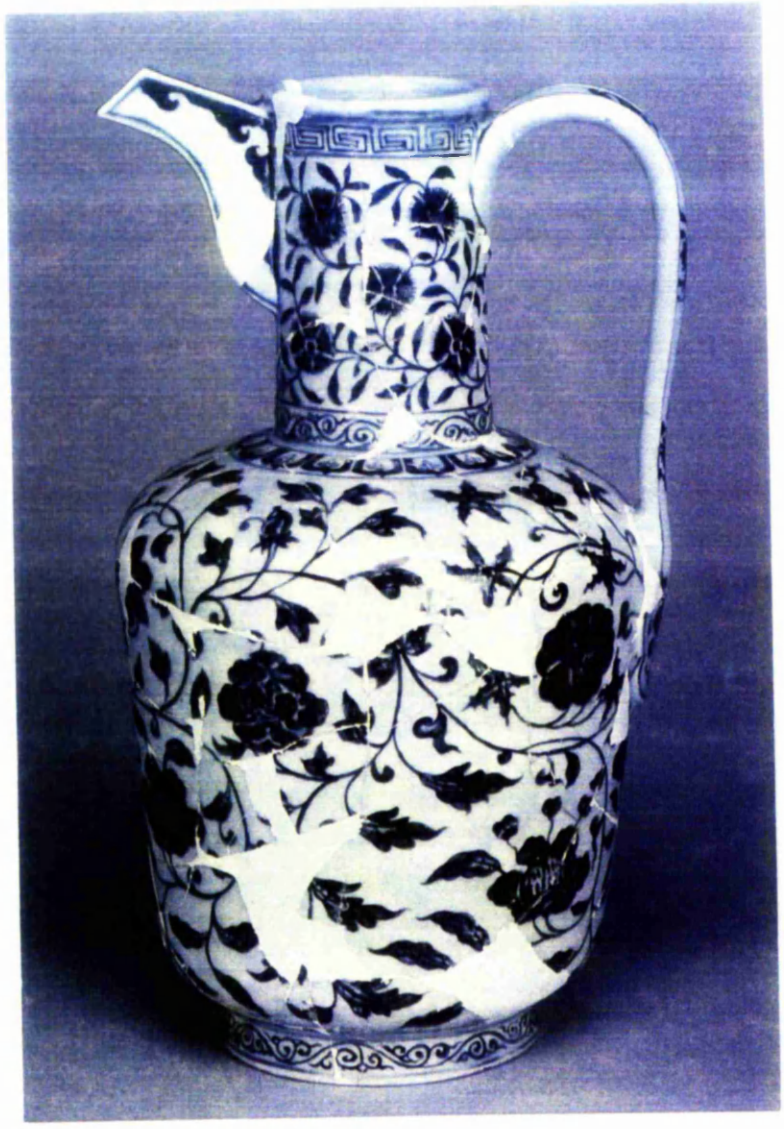
Pl. 26. **In *mandala* and the ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle, *Nagaraksa' 'og-gdon mthar-byed*** (After *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection*, pl. 15)



Pl. 27. **Ewer.** Xuande period. Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. (After *'The Influence of Nereastern Metalwork on Chinese Ceramics,' TOCS* 1940-41 (1942) vol. 6-e)

Pl. 28. ***Bianhu* flask.** Yongle period. Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. Height 30. 2 cm. (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, pl. 65)

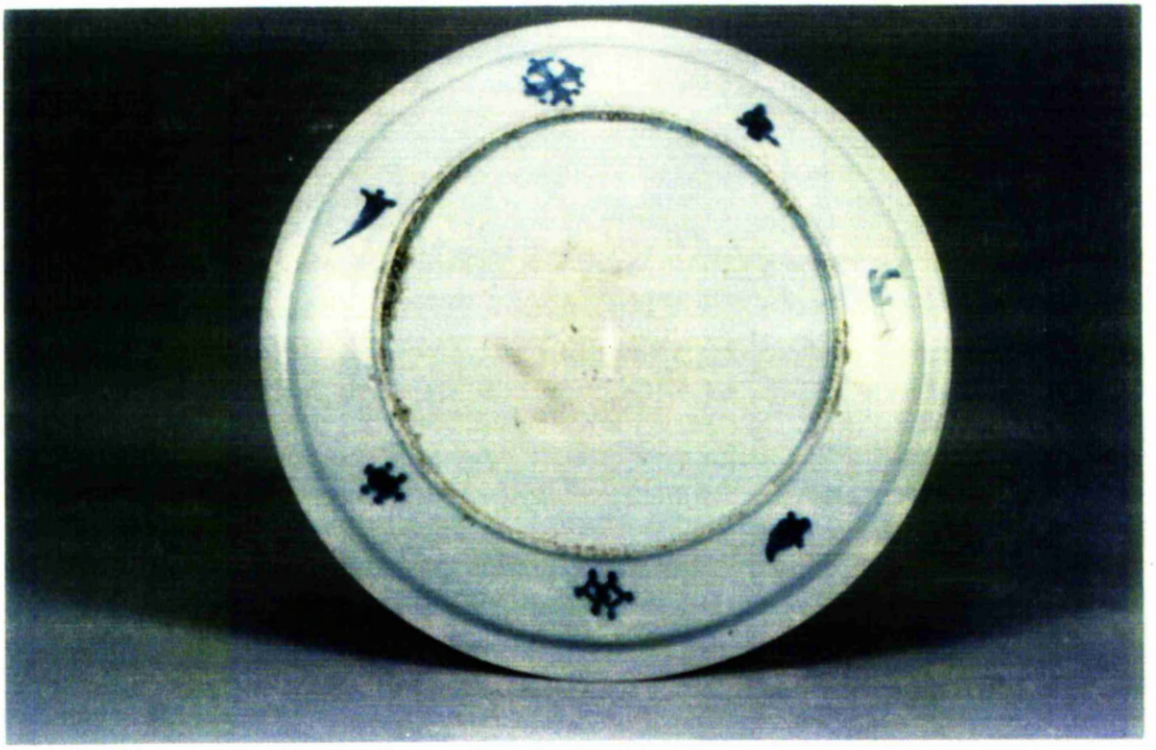
Pl. 29. **Great Adepts Virupa, Naropa, Saraha and Dombi Heruka**. Eastern Tibet. 18th century. 82. 4 X 55. 8 cm (After *The Secred Art of Tibet*, 1996, fig. 41)



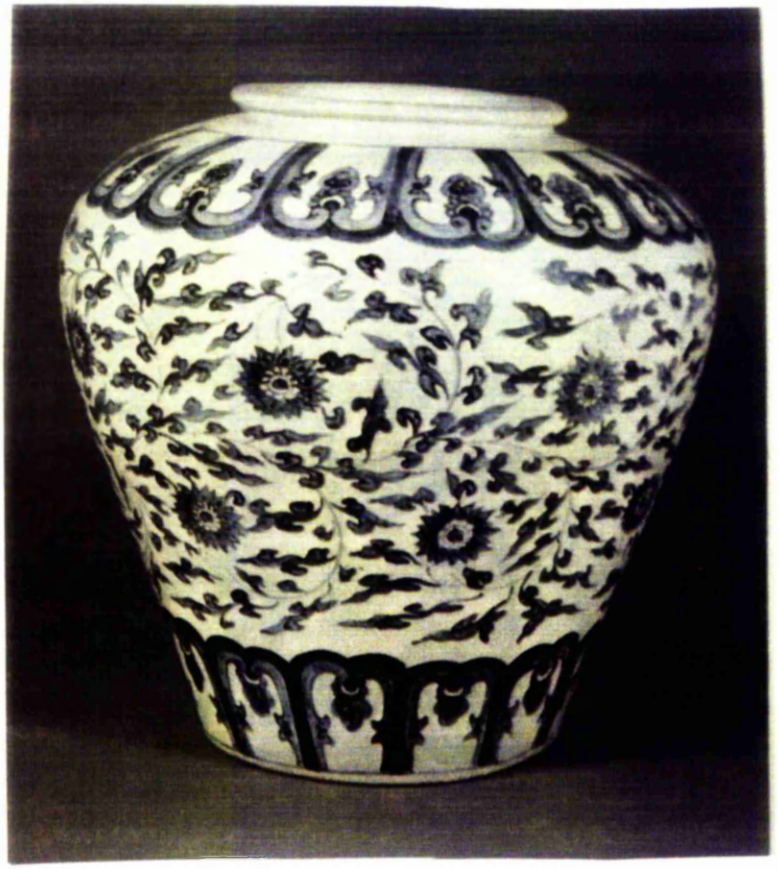
Pl. 30. **Ewer with cylindrical neck, with short spout**. Xuande period (1426-35). Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. Height. 33. 5cm. (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, pl. 139)

Pl. 31-a. **Plate**. 15th century, Choson dynasty (1392-1910). Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. Mouth diameter: 22. 7 cm. Museum of Oriental Ceramics at Osaka.

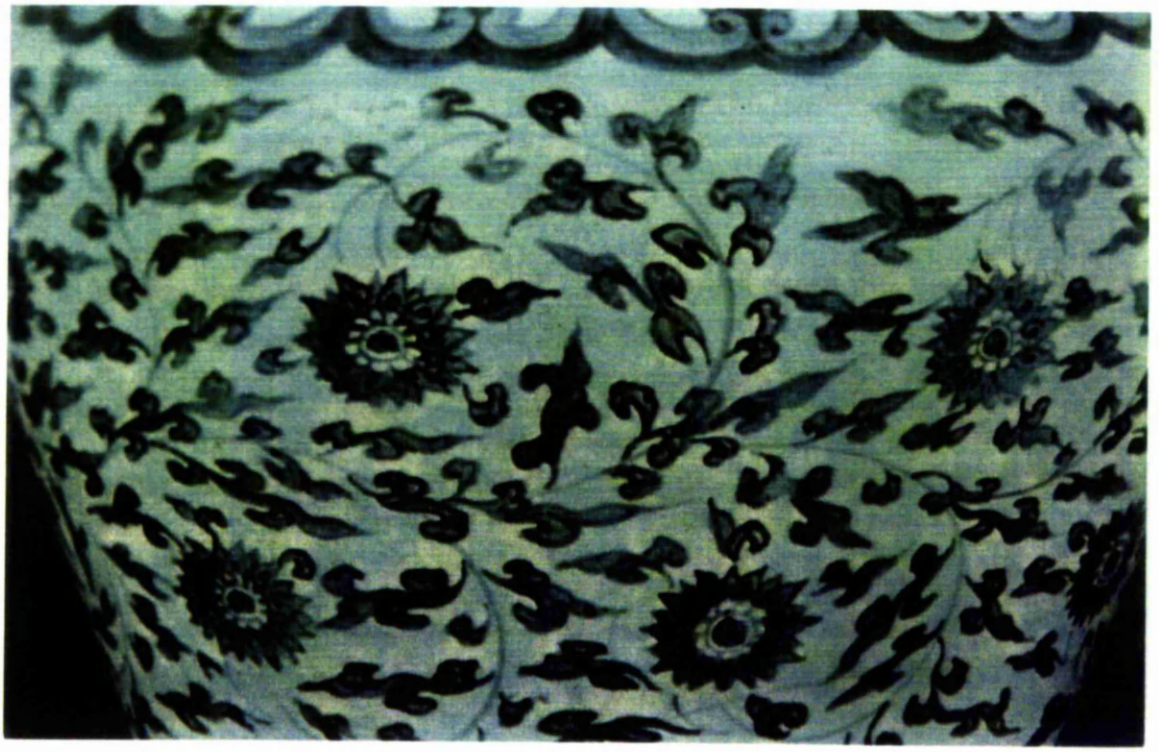
Pl. 31-b. Details of (Fig. 1)



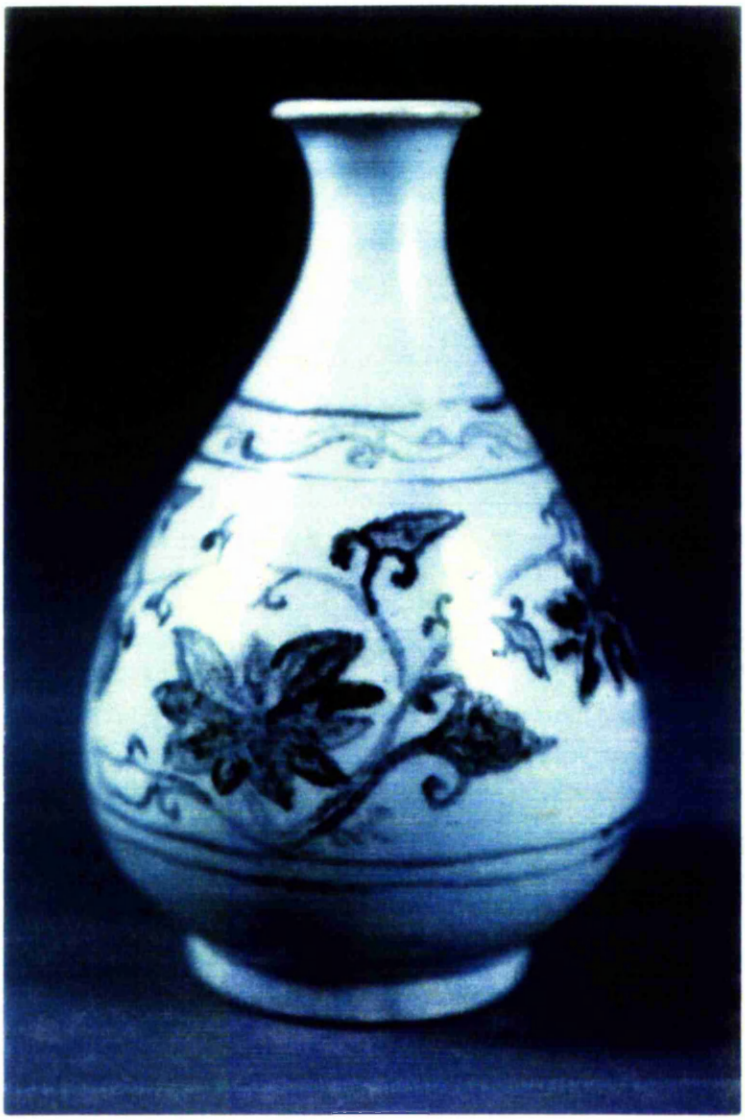
Pl. 31-c. Outside of (Fig. 1)



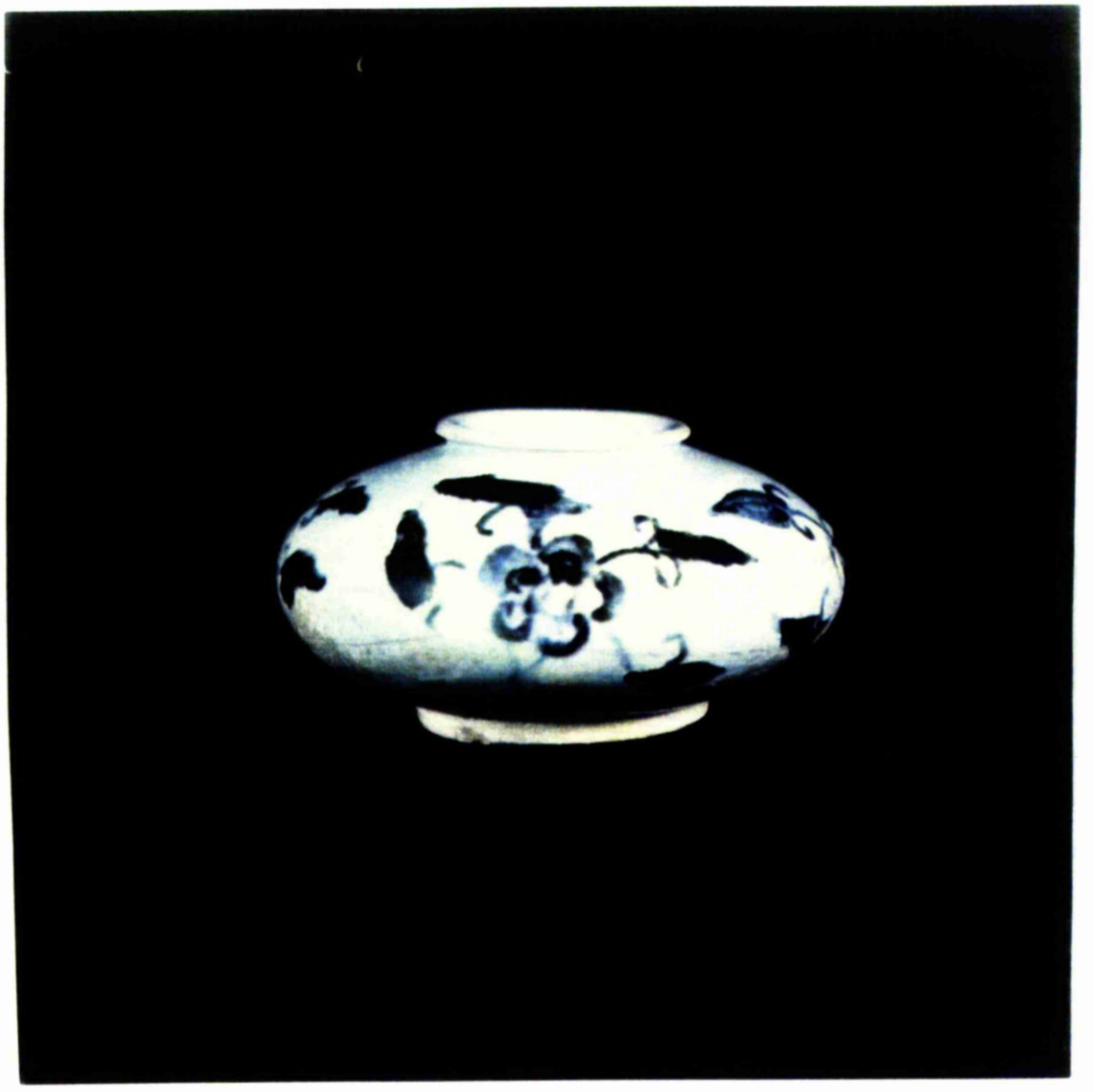
Pl. 32-a. **Jar**. 15th century, Choson dynasty. Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. Height: 28 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Pl. 32-b. Details of (Fig. 2)



Pl. 33. **Bottle**. 15th century, Choson dynasty. Porcelain with underglaze-blue-decoration. Height: 18. 3 cm. Ho-am Art Museum.



Pl. 34. **Jar**. 15th century, Choson dynasty. Porcelain with underglaze-blue-decoration. Height: 4.7 cm. Ho-am Art Museum.

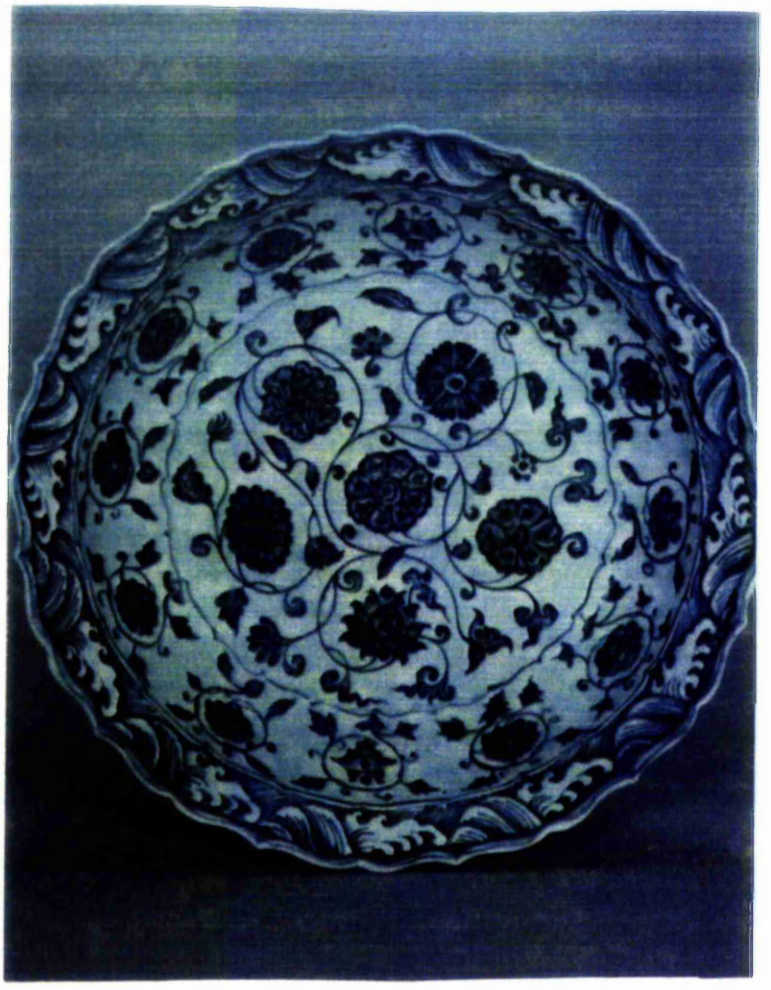
Pl. 35. **Bowl**. Hongwu period (1368-98), Ming dynasty. Porcelain with underglaze-blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 41 cm. Height: 16. 0 cm (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, 1996, pl. 5)

Pl. 36. **Bowl**. Hongwu period,. Porcelain with underglaze-red decoration. Mouth diameter: 38 cm. Height: 18. 0 cm (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, Taipei, 1996, pl. 7)

Pl. 37-a. **Cup stand**. Hongwu period. Porcelain underglaze blue decoration. Mouth diameter: 19. 5cm. (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, Taipei, 1996, pl. 17)

Pl. 37-b. Detail of (fig. 6)

Pl. 38. **Bowl**. Hongwu period. Porcelain underglaze blue decoration. Mouth diameter: 41 cm. (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, Taipei, 1996, pl. 5)



Pl. 39. **Dish**. Yongle period. Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. Mouth Diameter: 33. 5 cm. (After *Tianminlou Zhenzang Qinghua Ciqi*, Shanghai, 1996, pl. 25)

Pl. 40-a. **Dish**. Yongle period. Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. Mouth Diameter: 34 cm. Height: cm (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, Taipei, 1996, pl. 76)

Pl. 40-b. Detail of (fig. 10-a)

Pl. 41-a. **Dish**. Yongle period. Porcelain with underglaze blue decoration. Diamter 66cm. (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, Taipei, 1996, pl. 36)

Pl. 41-b. Details of (fig. 10-a)

Pl. 41-c. Details of (fig. 10-a)

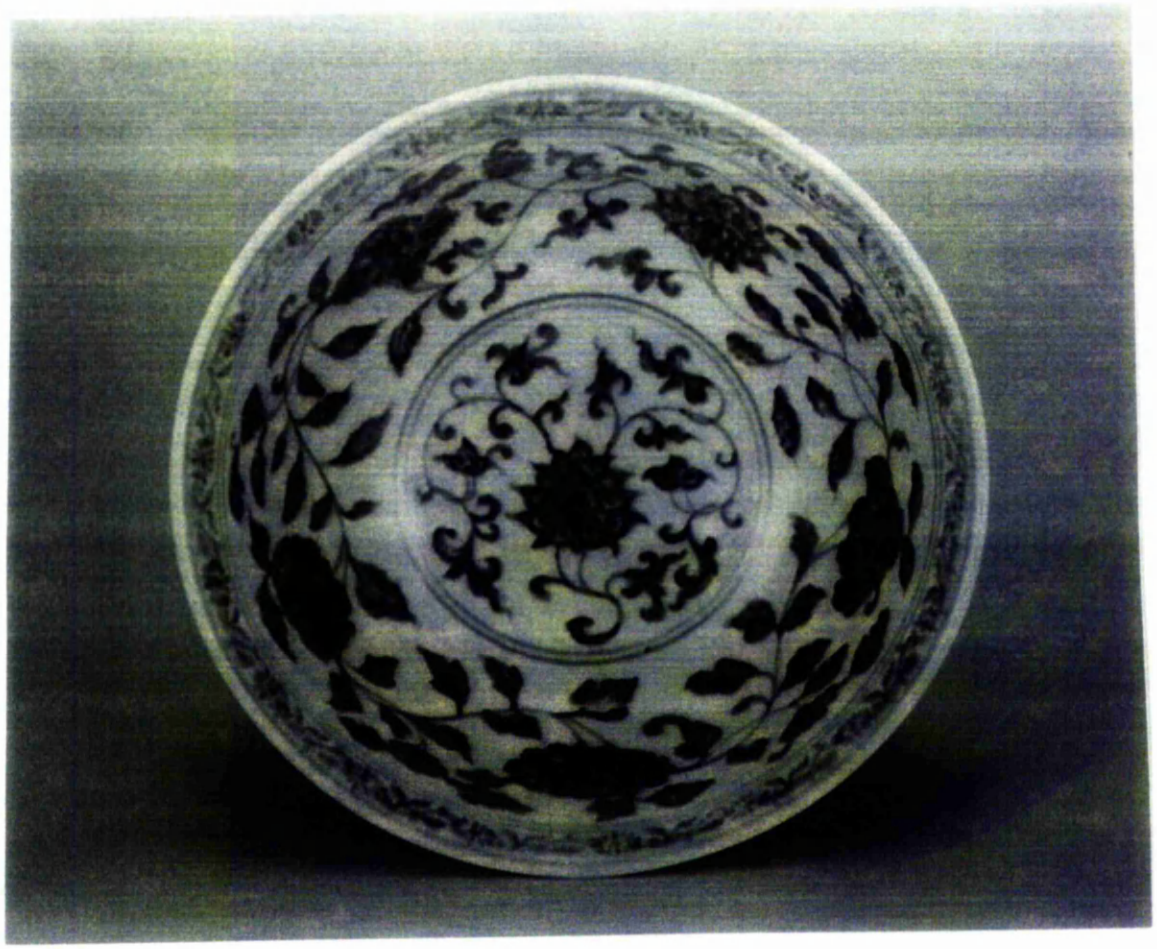
Pl. 42. **Jar**. Yongle period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Height 34. 2 cm. (After *Gugong Zangci Qinghuaciqi*, 1963, vol.1, fig. 16, Taipei, 1963)

Pl. 43. **Basin**. Yongle period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diamter: 25. 6 cm. Height: 12.0 cm (After *Tianminlou Zhenzang Qinghua Ciqi*, 1996, pl. 30)

Pl. 44. **Bowl**. Yongle period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 21 cm. Height: 9. 7 cm (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciqi*, Taipei, 1996, pl. 123)

Pl. 45. **Dish**. Xuande period (1426-35). Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth Diamteter: 41. 7cm. Height: (After *Jingdezhen Zhushan Chutu Yongle Xuande Guanyao Ciqi Zhanlan*, 1989, pl. 54)

Pl. 46. **Bowl.** Xuande period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 26. 6 cm. Height: 9. 7 cm. (After *Gugong Zangci*, 1963, vol. 2-2, pl. 46)



Pl. 47. **Bowl.** Xuande period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diamter: 17. 0 cm. Height: (After *Tianminlou Zhenzang Qinghua Ciqi*, 1996, pl. 38)

Pl. 48. **Bowl**. Xuande period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth Diamter: 28. 9cm Height: 10.2 cm. (After *Gugong Zangci*, vol. 2-2, pl. 45)

Pl. 49. **Jug**. Xuande period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 7. 5cm. Height: 13. 5 cm. (After *Jingdezhen Chutu Mingchu Guanyao Ciq*, 1996, pl. 138)

Pl. 50. **Jug**. Xuande period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth Diamter: 7. 6cm. Height: 13. 1cm. (After *Gugong Zangci Qinghuaciqi*, 1963, vol. 2-1, pl. 20)

Pl. 51-a. **Jar**. Zhengtong period (1436-49). Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth Diameter: 8. 5 cm. Height: 19. 5 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 15)

Pl. 51-b. Details of (fig. 18-a)

Pl. 52. **Jar**. Zhengtong period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: Approx. 8. 5 cm. Hieight: 19. 5 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi,* 1983, pl. 16)

Pl. 53. **Jar.** Zhengtong period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth Diameter: 8. 5 cm. Height: 19. 5 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi* pl. 16, right)

Pl. 54. **Incense burner**. Zhengtong period - Jingtai period (1450-56). Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth Diamter: 9. 5 cm. Height: 12. 1 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 20)

Pl. 55. **Jar.** Zhengtong period -Jingtai period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth Diameter: 6. 3 cm. Height: 11. 0 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 24)

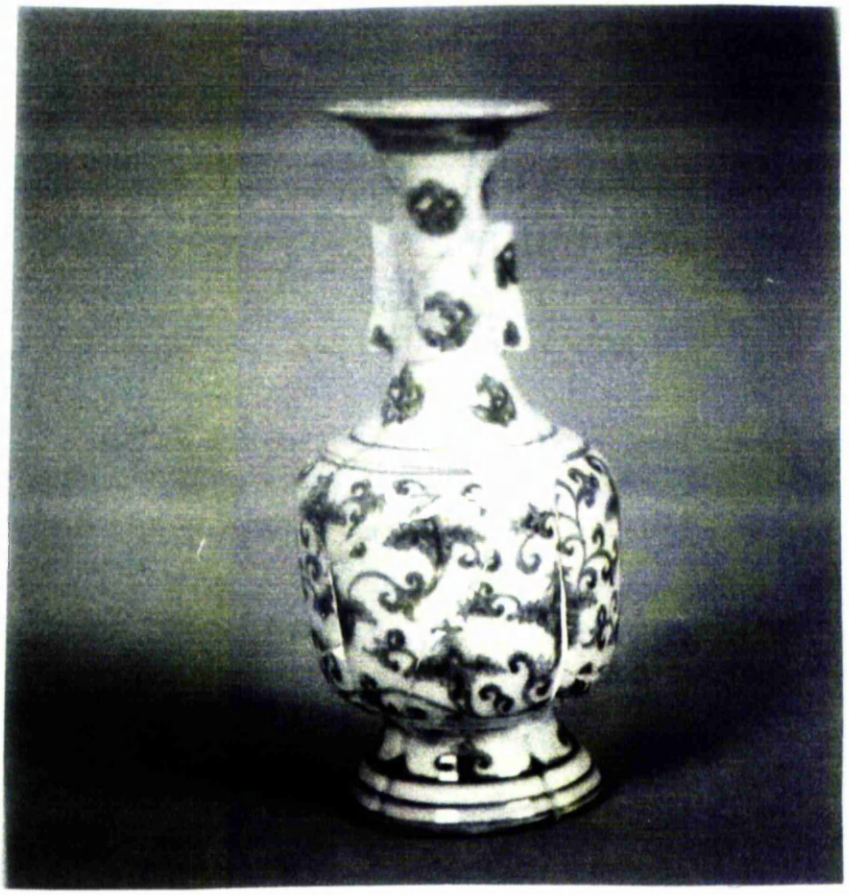
Pl. 56. **Dish**. The fourth year of the Jingtai period (1453). Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 13. 7 cm. Height: 3. 3 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 28)

Pl. 57. **Dish**. The seventh year of the Jingtai reign (1456). Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 14. 1 cm. Height: 3. 0 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 32)

Pl. 58. **Bottle**. Jingtai period-Tianshun period (1457-64). Porcelain with underglaze-blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 4. 8 cm. Height: 20. 4 cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 42).

Pl. 59. **Bottle**. Jingtai period - Tianshun period. Porcelain with underglaze-blue-decoration. Mouth Diameter: 6. 2 cm. Height: 20. 4cm. (After *Jingdezhen minjian qinghua ciqi*, 1983, pl. 43)

Pl. 60. **Bowl.** Zhengtong period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Mouth diameter: 20. 5 cm. Height: (After *Koteino Jiki*, 1995, pl. 87)



Pl. 61. **Vase**. Zhengtong period. Porcelain with underglaze blue-decoration. Height: 26. 5 cm. (After *Koteino Jiki*, pl. 81)

Pl. 62-a. **Incense burner**. 1397. Height: approx. 23.3 cm. Bronze Inlaid with silver. (After *Rioke Hakubutsukan Shozoin Shashincho*, Seoul, 1912, pl. 542)

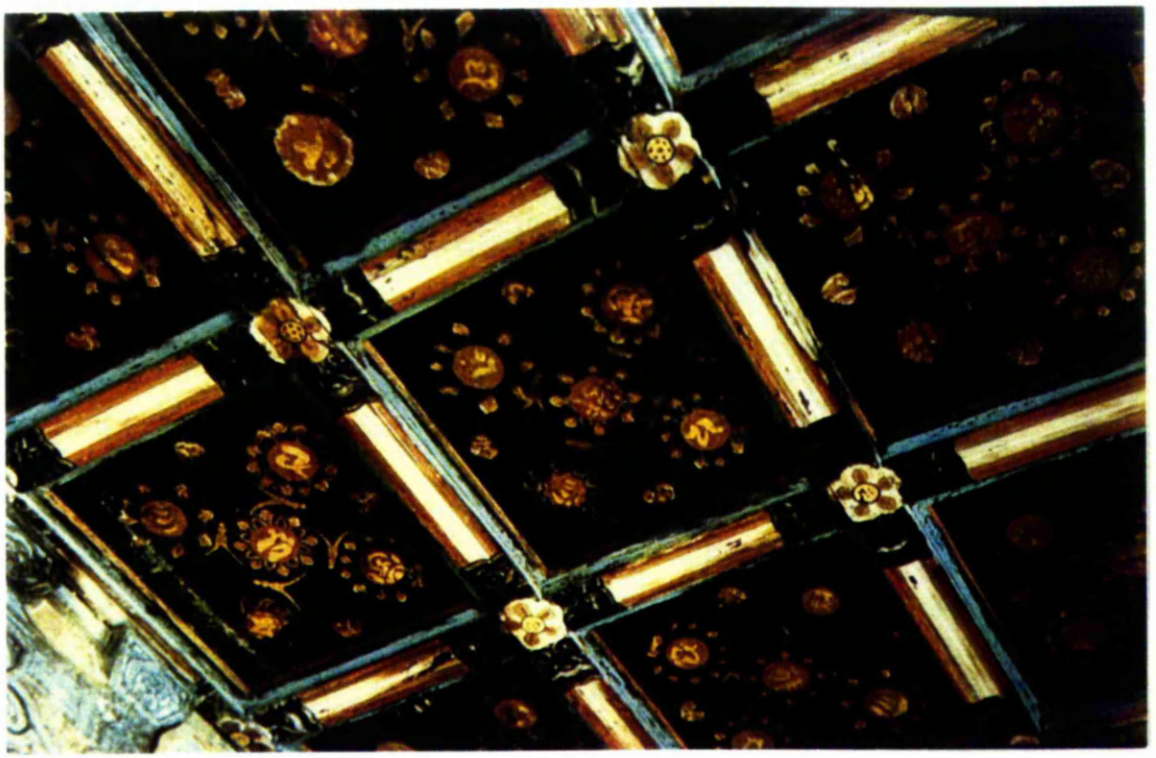
Pl. 62-b. Details of (fig. 1)

Pl. 63. **Incense burner**. 1346. Ht: 28.8 cm. Bronze Inlaid with silver. (After *Kukpo* vol. 5, Seoul, 1983, pl. 69)

Pl. 64-a. **Incense burner**. The first half of the Koryo dynasty (936-1392). Height: 33. 0 cm. Bronze Inlaid with silver. (After *Kukpo* vol. 5, pl. 66)

Pl. 64-b. Details of (Fig. 3-a)

Pl. 65. **Lotus Sutura**. Second half of the 14th century. Silver on indigo paper. (After Kukpo vol. 12, pl. 94)



Pl. 66. **The Ceiling decoration of Pongjong Monastery**